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THE  
OXYRHYNCHUS PAPYRI

VOLUME LX



THE  
OXYRHYNCHUS PAPYRI  
VOLUME LX

EDITED WITH TRANSLATIONS AND NOTES BY

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MEMBERS OF THE ISTITUTO G. VITELLI

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## PREFACE

Much the largest contribution to this volume has been made by Dr Coles. He himself edited the great bulk of the Roman and Byzantine documents, and collaborated on the rest (4063–7, introd.): in addition, he has supervised and contributed to the publication of the large group of Aeschines papyri.

The theological texts (4009–11) comprise a fragment probably of the apocryphal *Gospel of Peter*, published in collaboration with Professor Dieter Lührmann of Marburg University; and two liturgical texts from the everyday life of the Christian community, edited by Dr Kurt Treu, whose early death was a sad blow to us and to many other colleagues. Section II includes newly identified pieces of Euripides' *Phoenissae* and *Orestes*, edited by Professor Haslam; and another handbook of Euripidean hypotheses, covering the *Bacchae* and other plays, edited by Dr H. M. Cockle. Section III consists of Menander: mostly fragments which provide small supplements or variant readings to known portions of his text, but one novelty with (probably) the opening scene of *Leucadia* (4024). Section IV contains all the papyri of Aeschines so far identified in the collection; the editing is mainly the work of members of the Istituto Vitelli of the University of Florence. Among the documents we single out those from the Arabian nome (a rare provenance); and, of unique interest, the long and difficult accounts relating to the two Oxyrhynchite *mansiones* on the Roman route running north and south along the edge of the Western desert (4087–8).

For the indexes we are indebted to the skill and perseverance of Juliane Kerkhecker. The Charlesworth Group have again set the text with wonderful precision.

February, 1994

P. J. PARSONS  
J. R. REA  
General Editors



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IA = I.Andorlini

RB = R.Barbis

VB = V.Baroncelli

EB = E.Bassi

GB = G.Bastianini

PC = P.Carrara

AC = A.Casanova

HMC = H.M.Cockle

CF = C.Foches

MWH = M.W.Haslam

JL = J.Lenaerts

DLi = D.Limongi

DLü. = D.Lührmann

GM = G.Menci

FM = F.Morelli

AM = A.Moscadi

LP = L.Papini

PJP = P.J.Parsons

PP = P.Pruneti

SR = S.Russo

LSab. = L.Sabini

LSalv. = L.Salvadori

GMS = G.M.Savorelli

KT = K.Treu

EGT = E.G.Turner

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## NUMBERS AND PLATES

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## NOTE ON THE METHOD OF PUBLICATION AND ABBREVIATIONS

The basis of the method is the Leiden system of punctuation, see *CE* 7 (1932) 262–9. It may be summarized as follows:

$\alpha\beta\gamma$	The letters are doubtful, either because of damage or because they are otherwise difficult to read
...	Approximately three letters remain unread by the editor
$[\alpha\beta\gamma]$	The letters are lost, but restored from a parallel or by conjecture
$[\dots]$	Approximately three letters are lost
( )	Round brackets indicate the resolution of an abbreviation or a symbol, e.g. $(\alpha\rho\tau\acute{\alpha}\beta\eta)$ represents the symbol $\alpha\rho\tau$ , $\epsilon\tau\rho(\alpha\tau\eta\gamma\acute{o}\varsigma)$ represents the abbreviation $\epsilon\tau\rho\varsigma$
$\llbracket\alpha\beta\gamma\rrbracket$	The letters are deleted in the papyrus
$\overset{\sim}{\alpha\beta\gamma}$	The letters are added above the line
$\langle\alpha\beta\gamma\rangle$	The letters are added by the editor
$\{\alpha\beta\gamma\}$	The letters are regarded as mistaken and rejected by the editor

Heavy arabic numerals refer to papyri printed in the volumes of *The Oxyrhynchus Papyri*.

The abbreviations used are in the main identical with those in J. F. Oates *et al.*, *Checklist of Editions of Greek Papyri and Ostraca*, 3rd edition (*BASP* Suppl. No. 4, 1985). It is hoped that any new ones will be self-explanatory.



# I. THEOLOGICAL TEXTS

## 4009. GOSPEL OF PETER?

62 6B.82/C(1-3)a

2.9 × 9 cm

Second century

A scrap from a papyrus codex. For convenience, we refer to the side on which the writing runs parallel with the fibres as 'recto', and the other as 'verso'; there is no telling which precedes which.

A column of writing held at least 21 lines, each line (to judge from the plausible supplements in R 5-8) had 18-21 letters: written height at least 8 cm, written width (reconstructed) c. 4.7 cm. Surviving lower margins of 0.8 cm; surviving right-hand margin 0.5 cm (R), left-hand margin 0.8 cm (V). If there was only one column to the page, we have a miniature codex, with a page width of (say) 7 cm. For similar books, see E. G. Turner, *Typology of the Early Codex* 22 (papyrus) and 30 (parchment). In that case, the original page height may have been no more than 10 cm, so that relatively little text would be lost at the top. But it remains possible that we have here one of the rare examples of a two-column papyrus codex (Turner 36), so that the extent of text lost would be much greater.

Paragraphing by blank line-end (R 10) and perhaps by ecthesis (V 10); punctuation by middle stop R 4?, 11, 15?, by blank space R 3, 9, 14?, 17. *Nomen sacrum* κε V 13. The correction at V 8 seems to be by the original scribe.

The text is written in a small round informal hand with a tendency to lean to the left. There are many ligatures (note especially R 11 λεγειμοι); the cursive touch shows also in the letter forms—looped α; μ ξ ν in one movement. Note ε with the upper loop nearly closed, wide κ, low-bellied μ, ν with a right side that does not touch the line, π with strongly curved right side, ς flattened with extended cap, wide τ, ω in two movements. Ornament takes the form of hooks at the head and foot of uprights. With an informal hand, and a small sample, dating presents particular problems. For datable parallels see: Schubart, *Pal. Abb.* 81 (PLond I p. 132 ff., horoscopes later than the death of Titus); Norsa, *Scritt. Doc.* XVc (Edict of Petronius Mamertinus AD 133/7); Schubart, *PGB* 22B (135?) and 24 (148). For similar scripts in literary texts see *PGB* 28; 31 (*Theaetetus Commentary*); Norsa, *Scritt. Lett.* 9D (Menander, *Theophoroumene*); Roberts, *GLH* 13b (BM *Hyperides*)—all normally assigned to the second century. These parallels suggest, at least, that 4009 might be dated to the second century rather than to the third.

The *nomen sacrum* identifies this as a Christian text; and R 4 ff. preserve key-words of four *logia* of Jesus. In fact, R can be reconstructed in detail from synoptic and non-synoptic parallels. We have not found any similar basis for reconstructing V.

We have two clues to the precise provenance. (i) R 11 suggests a first person narrative. (ii) R 9 ff., the *logion* of the wolves and the lambs, shows an extended text





## 'Recto'

1 ] .[, descender, more ink above, on displaced fibres, and to right on edge (a, κ, λ, μ; ζ, ξ, χ?) 2 ] .[, curving foot  
 3 ] .[, left-hand arc as of o, c (φ?) 4 ] .[, right-hand tip of horizontal level with  
 5 ] .[, long oblique descender (ι? but more ink to top right) 6 ] .[, ink on crumpled strip  
 7 ] .[, point on projecting fibres 8 ] .[, ink high in the line, then heavy dot a  
 9 ] .[, little below mid-height 10 ] .[, ink on edge at mid-height 11 ] .[, oblique back as of o, c, ω?  
 12 ] .[, point on edge, just below letter-tops (tip of horizontal, e.g. of overhang of c?) 13 ] .[, trace just  
 14 ] .[, below tops of letters 15 ] .[, first, γ π τ; then angular loop, o or second of ω 16 ] .[, oblique  
 17 ] .[, top as of a δ λ; then top of upright? 18 ] .[, trace at mid-height 19 ] .[, ink level with letter tops  
 20 ] .[, perhaps parts of ω 21 ] .[, π, hook at beginning of horizontal anomalous? but enough remains of the  
 22 ] .[, right-hand vertical to exclude τ? 23 ] .[, upper part of sloping upright (e.g. ι) 24 ] .[, first,  
 25 ] .[, high oblique descending from left to right, joining top of upright; second, probably extremities of ω  
 26 ] .[, oblique foot below, more ink to top right (κ, χ? or even c?); then χ? 27 ] .[, displaced fibres

## 'Verso'

28 ] .[, left-hand arc and cross-bar of ε, θ; foot of upright 29 ] .[, possible trace (end of horizontal)  
 30 ] .[, just below left-hand curl of υ 31 ] .[, high horizontal joining top stroke of c (unless the whole thing is the  
 32 ] .[, top stroke extended) 33 ] .[, high horizontal with curving upright below, γ, τ? or part of π?; then  
 34 ] .[, right-hand arc of small circle, τ? would suit spacing; then high dot, or left-hand end of horizontal, on the  
 35 ] .[, edge 36 ] .[, high dot, or left-hand end of horizontal, on the edge 37 ] .[, φ, perhaps part of the  
 38 ] .[, loop, and the beginning of the oblique tail, of a 39 ] .[, a overwritten on (less probably by) a rounded  
 40 ] .[, letter? 41 ] .[, vertical traces on edge 42 ] .[, first, high point of ink; second, flattened tail  
 43 ] .[, as of a, λ, μ etc. 44 ] .[, high dot on edge 45 ] .[, μ, ai or μμai? 46 ] .[, high trace joining  
 47 ] .[, cross-bar of π? or simply extension of that cross-bar? 48 ] .[, ink on edge 49 ] .[, upright with  
 50 ] .[, junction at mid-height (η, κ, ρ?) 51 ] .[, left-hand arc, middle damaged, ε or c? 52 ] .[, ink at mid-  
 53 ] .[, level (stop?), more traces to right 54 ] .[, loop of ρ or φ? then υ? then ρ (but unexplained ink  
 55 ] .[, to left)? then a sloping back, followed by an upright, e.g. ai?

## 'Recto'

Line-ends are visible in 9–15, and can be reconstructed in 6 (where the rules of syllable-division exclude φρονιμ[oc]; the line-length can be estimated from the plausible and consistent supplements in 5–8.

4 ff. offer key-words of four *logia*:

(i) 4 θερικμός cf. Matt. 9.37–8/Luke 10.2.

(ii) 5–7 cf. Matt. 10.16b (quoted, in the singular, by Ignatius, *Epist. ad Polycarp.* 2.2), where the serpents come before the doves; IV 655 ii b 19–23 (Van Haelst 595) (= Gospel of Thomas 39.).

(iii) 7 f. Matt 10.16a/Luke 10.3; cf. 2Clem. 5.2 (quoted below, 9–15 note).

(iv) 11 ff. 2Clem. 5.4; cf. Matt. 10.28/Luke 12.4 f.

Thus Luke juxtaposes (i) and (iii); Matthew (ii) and (iii) in reverse order.

To anticipate the following discussion, we suggest a reconstruction of 4 ff. on these lines:

] ὁ θερικμός[

5 [γείνου δὲ ἀκέ]ραιος ὡς αἱ [πε–  
 [ριστεραὶ κ]αὶ φρόνιμο[  
 [ὡς οἱ ὀφεί]τες ἔσεσθε ὡς [  
 [ἀρνία ἀνὰ μέ]σον λύκων[·  
 [εἰπον πρὸς αὐ]τόν· ἐὰν οὐ(ν)  
 10 [σπαραχθῶ]μεν;  
 [ὁ δὲ ἀποκριθεὶς] λέγει μοι· οἱ  
 [λύκοι σπαρά]ξαντες τὸ  
 [ἀρνίον οὐ]κέτι αὐτῷ οὐ–  
 [δὲν δύνανται] ποιῆσαι. δι–

15 [ὁ ἐγὼ λέγω ὑ]μῖν· [μ]ὴ φο-  
 [βεῖσθε ἀπὸ τ]ῶν ἀπ[οκτεν-  
 [νόντων ὑμᾶ]ς, καὶ [μετὰ τὸ  
 [ἀποκτεῖναι] μηκέ[τι ποι  
 [ῆσαι δυναμέ]ων [μηδέν.

(These supplements give an approximately even left-hand margin, on the assumption that, as often, that margin sloped leftwards as it descended the column. It is possible that new sentences, or sections, were indicated by *ecthesis*, cf. V 10.)

3–4 If the supplements suggested for 5 ff. are correct, *θεριμός* must end its clause, for there is no space to continue (we therefore take the final trace in 4, a dot on projecting fibres, as a middle stop). That clause may begin at 3 κα, where a clear blank (punctuation) precedes. If this is heavy punctuation, the clause was very short. At the end of 3, we see a long descender suggesting ι or φ or possibly ρ (not normally so long). Against ι, the further ink visible to the top right (unless we could imagine, say, ει in ligature, as usual, with the cap of ε projecting to the right); against φ, the position at the line-end. In any case, the text cannot be identical with Matt. 9.37–8/Luke 10.2.

5–7 -αῖος in 5 shows that this injunction was in the singular (addressed to the narrator), and we have restored it accordingly (δε rather than ουν to suit the spacing). In ακε]ραιος, the trace suits ρ well enough; but we cannot explain the heavy dot, most suggesting a middle stop, which precedes αι.

7–8 The number reverts to the plural: Peter speaks for the disciples.

9–15 The reconstruction is based on the version preserved in 2 Clem. 5.2–4 λέγει γὰρ ὁ κύριος· ἔσεσθε ὡς ἀρνία ἐν μέσῳ λύκων. ἀποκριθεὶς δὲ ὁ Πέτρος αὐτῷ λέγει· ἐὰν οὖν διασπαράξωσιν οἱ λύκοι τὰ ἀρνία; εἶπεν ὁ Ἰησοῦς τῷ Πέτρῳ· μὴ φοβεῖσθωσαν τὰ ἀρνία τοὺς λύκους μετὰ τὸ ἀποθανεῖν αὐτά· καὶ ὑμεῖς μὴ φοβεῖσθε τοὺς ἀποκτείνοντας ὑμᾶς καὶ μηδὲν ὑμῖν δυναμένους ποιεῖν κτλ. This dialogue between Jesus and Peter is a part of the extra-canonical tradition, which the author of the letter has taken over. It is true that the *logia* in 5.2 and 5.4 have parallels in the rest of the tradition; but 4009 now represents the prime parallel for the text as a whole.

9 f. As in 2Clem. 5.3, ἐὰν οὖ(ν) introduces an objection to Jesus' words. The clause ends with ]μεν (10), ie a form of the first person plural: we could supply *επαραχθ]*ώμεν, after 2Clem. 5.3 (δια- looks too long). The first part of 9 should mark the change of speaker: e.g. *εἶπον πρὸς αὐ]*τόν.

11–14 ] λέγει μοι introduces a new speech; supply e.g. *ὁ δὲ ἀποκριθεὶς]*. Thus the first-person narrator is addressed, as already in 5–7; it follows that it is the same narrator who raises the objection in 9; therefore the narrator is Peter, as in 2Clem. 5.3. The other speaker must be Jesus, although his name does not survive in what remains of the text. This version is not identical with that in 2Clem. 5.4, but the general run can be restored with reasonable certainty: here as there Jesus dwells on the relations of lambs and wolves, but in a direct statement instead of in an imperative clause.

12 *επαρά]*ξαντες continues the reconstruction proposed for 10. There is a palaeographic doubt: one might have expected to see the tail of α] showing on the preserved papyrus to bottom left of ξ.

13–14 *αυτω* suits the trace and the space; but *αυτο* too has something in its favour (if ω is right, we might expect to see a trace of its first loop on the narrow strip of fibres to the left). *ποιησαι* suits the traces well; after it, a short gap before δι; there is no room for another word, we therefore take it as a punctuation-blank.

14–19 Few letters survive, but a plausible reconstruction is possible on the basis of 2Clem. 5.4b+c and its variants in early Christian literature (cf. Matt. 10.28/Luke 12.4–5; Ps-Clem., *hom.* 17.4; Justin, *apol.* I 19; Hermas, *mand.* XII 6.3; Irenaeus, *haer.* III 18.5; Clem. Alex., *excerpta ex Theod.* 14.3 and 51.3).

15 ὁ]μῖν, the next trace can be taken as a middle stop; [μ]η fills the gap.

19 The traces are much damaged, but ]νων[ suits well.

20 f. We expect a continuation corresponding to 2Clem. 5.4c or its parallels. But we have found no plausible reconstruction.

#### ‘Verso’

We have found no parallel from which to reconstruct this side. That its content has something in common with the Recto is suggested by the similarity of its ‘synoptic’ vocabulary, and by recognisable

hints of dialogue structure. The precise sequence remains unclear. We may assume that in 5–6 Jesus is speaking. In 13 Jesus is addressed; we may guess from the Recto that the speaker is the first person narrator, Peter. But it is difficult to be sure where the speaker changes (9–10?), and whether it changes again after 13.

2 ]ψεγ[ possible.

4 E.g. *οὐδέ*: new clause. But there is a patch of damage after the apparent sigma, so that *ο* (e.g. *οὐδέ*) may not be excluded.

5 *παρεσχ*-. Perhaps a first person singular (of Jesus), then *τῷ προσελ*||*θόντι μ[οι*. A reconstruction *exempli gratia*, based on Matt. 8.21–2/Luke 9.59–60: *οὐδὲ τὸ θ[άψαι πατέρα]*||*παρέσχ[ηκα τῷ προσελ]*||*θόντι μ[οι*.

8 *ῥτι*. If *ῥφει* is to be read, one thinks of a part of *ῥφίημι*, cf. 13. The next letter was overwritten by way of correction; given the weight of ink, it seems likely that *α* was the final version, written over a rounded letter that could be *ς*, or perhaps (since it is rather small) *ο*. If we accept *α*, *ῥφ(ε)ιῶ[σιν]* is a possibility; if we accept *ο* or *ς*, *ῥφ(ε)ιῶ[μεν]*, *ῥφ(ε)ιῶ[σιν]* etc., *ῥφείς* or *ῥφείς* (or an itacistic spelling of *ῥφῆς*)? This assumes that the suprascript *ε* is an addition to, not a replacement of, *ι* (i.e. *ῥφεις*).

If this verb is recognised, one could think of *ῥμα[ρτίας]*, *ῥμα[ρτήματα]* in the next line; before that, if *λ* is rightly read, *πά[λαι]*, cf. 2Peter 1.9? But e.g. *ἐν Γαλι[λαίᾳ μα[θητής]* is equally possible.

10 *αὐτῷ* projects into the left-hand margin. Presumably the ecthesis marks a new section, or a new speech. Since *αὐτῷ* itself cannot begin a clause, the break must come in the line before.

11–12 *ἐν (τῷ) ὁ[ν]όματι*?

13 Apparently *ῥφείς* or *ῥφείς*, cf. 8; then *κ(ύρι)ε*, an address to Jesus (probably by Peter, unless it belongs to quoted direct speech). 11–13 might be combined in some such sense as ‘Lord, do you remit sins in the name of God?’; but clearly other meanings of *ῥφίεναι* (‘allow’, ‘let go’) are available.

14 *κ[ο]λουθ[ε]* [possible, a part of *ἀκολουθεῖν* or the like?

D. LÜHRMANN — P. J. PARSONS

#### 4010. *Pater* WITH INTRODUCTORY PRAYER

20 3B.36/H(1–3)a

11.5 × 15 cm

Fourth century

This prayer has been copied in a handsome hand, with ample margins (to the left and below) of c. 3 cm. The writing runs with the fibres; the black is blank. Since the text ends, or could end, with the last line, we are probably dealing with a single column on an individual sheet, rather than with the beginning or continuation of a roll.

The script is a version of the Severe Style, written upright with a thickish pen and some attempt at differential shading, to be assigned to the fourth century (compare Turner, *GMAW* 49 and 70; Cavallo & Maehler, *Greek Bookhands of the Early Byzantine Period* 12a–b). No lectional signs, except for the suprascript stroke in *nomina sacra*. There is some tendency to separate words; and short blanks were used to separate clauses (12 etc.). The scribe, though a competent penman, was careless enough to omit a clause in 13, and to duplicate one in 19.

The *Pater Noster* (11 ff.) is introduced by a preliminary prayer, see e.g. *Liturgy of St Mark* pp. 135–6 Brightman. For other examples of the *Pater* circulating separately on papyrus, parchment and other materials see van Haelst nos. 345–9 and PKöln IV 171. Many of these have been thought to be amulets; the physical size of 4010 seems to make that unlikely (there are no clear signs of folding).

1 | α[  
 | [  
 | [  
 | [  
 5 | . [  
 | μ. . [ . . ] . ελεη[  
 | ελε[ . . ] . υμο. [  
 δεσποτα παντ. . . . [ πῆρ των οικτιρμων  
 και θς πασης πα[ρακλησεως c. 8-11  
 10 και ελεησον και κυβ. . . . [ c. 9-12  
 καταξιωσον ημας . . [ c. 6-9 πῆρ ημων  
 ο εν τοις οὐνοῖς αγιασθητω [το ονομα σου  
 ελθετω η βασιλεια σου ως εν οὐνω και επι  
 γης τον αρτον ημων τῷ ενπιουσιον δοσ  
 15 ημιν σημερον και αφες η[μιν τα οφειλη  
 ματα ημων ωςπερ κα[ι] ημ[εις] αφηκαμεν  
 τοις οφιλταις ημων κα[ι] μη εισενεγκης  
 ημας εις πειρασμον αλλα [ρυσαι ημας α  
 πο του πονηρου ρυσαι ημ[ας  
 foot

2-5 Fibres stripped where the initial letters should come. In 5, isolated horizontal trace: paragraphos or part of letter?

6 ff. The lines which are certainly restorable have 29 to 32 letters.

6 μ. . [, lower arc of circle (ε θ ο ε ω?); tip of upright descending from left to right (α δ λ υ χ). ], foot of upright (if word end, η or ι?). Perhaps μου [κα]ῖ ἐλέη[σον, cf. 9-10.

7 ], perhaps a lower right-hand arc. ελε[ησο]ν would not suit the trace, and in any case looks a little too long. Perhaps ελε[οε]σον, which would just fit: the phrase is common in LXX. E.g. ἐλέη[σον] ἡμᾶς κατὰ τὸ μέγα[λ]ε[οε]σον, after Ps. 50.3?

μο. [, traces (of an upright?) on the edge.

8-9 2Cor. 1.3 ὁ πατήρ τῶν οἰκτιρμῶν καὶ θεὸς πάσης παρακλήσεως. At the beginning of 8, perhaps παντο, perhaps παντω; the traces following, on a narrow strip of fibres, are vestigial; παντοκρά[τωρ] would be possible, but looks long for the likely space. 9 end, e.g. ἐπάκουσον (Ev. Barth. 4.49.8 ἐπάκουσόν μου καὶ ἐλέησον τοὺς ἁμαρτωλοὺς).

10 κυβ, not ρυε, seems to suit the remains; the final traces, on straggling fibres, indeterminate. Probably κυβέρνη[σον], then space for c. 4-7 letters. Joh. Chrys. 63.926.38 κυβέρνησον τὸ ὑπόλοιπόν μου τῆς ζωῆς.

11 . . [, indeterminate ink on straggling fibres. We expect a verb of speaking to introduce the *Pater*, as at *Liturgy of St Mark* p. 135.31 Brightman καταξιώσον ἡμᾶς ... τολμᾶν ἐπικαλεῖσθαι σε ... καὶ λέγειν κτλ. But λέγειν itself looks too short (unless followed by a punctuation-space).

11 ff. Ev. Matt. 6.9-13.

13 σου: the following clause γενηθήτω τὸ θέλημά σου omitted by homoeoteleuton.

16 ωςπερ: ὡς Matt.



17 κα[ι, nothing remains but indeterminate traces.

19 ρυcai ημ[ac repeated. After that, more than enough room for ἀμήν, but not for a doxological formula (see van Haelst 345–6; PKöln IV 171), unless the text continued into another column.

†K. TREU

#### 4011. HYMN (Psalm 75, intercalated)

22 3B.16/F(3–4)a

15.5 × 13.5 cm

Sixth century

On one side of this piece, written across the fibres, stands the upper part of a memorandum, beginning ὑπομνηστικ(όν) τῷ εὐλαβ(εστάτῳ)|Χρι[στο]δώρῳ διακ(όνῳ) Φοιβάμμων|βοηθ(ός) .[.] . (perhaps χ[α]ίρ(ειν)?) (vac.)|καταξιώ[ς]η ἡ ἐν εὐλάβια ἐνεγκεῖν ... (the items to be transported include φακιάλια δύο).

On the other side, written parallel with the fibres, stands a Christian hymn-text. To the left is a heavy sheet join, overlapped by the line-beginnings, with fibres running at right angles to the rest: this is the joint between the *protokollon* and the roll (Turner, *The Terms Recto & Verso* 20); the papyrus seems to have been cut or broken off down the left edge of the overlap. The text, punctuated only by section marks in the form ⊥, represents a cento. The two complete sections, lines 1–9, derive from Psalm 75, with interpolations both from LXX and from NT.

The memorandum was copied in a sizable and handsome cursive script, the hymn in a smaller and more rapid cursive with many phonetic misspellings. Both texts can be assigned to the sixth century.

#### ΧΜΓ

† γνωστος εν τη ιουδεια ην ω θς εν τω ισραηλ μεγα  
μεγα το ονομα αυτου κατωκιςθη εν ριων ειρηνην  
π[ο]λλην ευαγγελιζομενος αλλε εταραχθησαν  
η ασηνετητε τη καρδια και εσταυρωσαν αυτων  
5 ανε[ς]τη δε εκ νεκρον και ιδου πασα η γη ισηχαζι

τες

μετα φοβου και πραητητος ευχας αυτω απωδιδω  
και δωρα προσφεροντες . (vac.)

⊥ εκι συνετριψεν τα κρατη των τοξον

αυτον

10 ⊥ ωπλω και ρομφεα και πολεμων και εσταυρωσαν  
ανε[ς]τη εκ νεκρον ο θς διασκορπισας παντας  
τους εχθρους αυτου απο προσωπου αυτου



.....ην[...].ζη[.....]. θανατω και εταρ[α]χ[  
 ...]...[.....]. α.[...].ων...τηξα.[

$\overline{XMT}$ : see most recently LVI **3862** 1 note; R. W. Daniel & F. Maltomini, *Supplementum Magicum* II 62.2 note.

1–2 Ps. 75 beginning, γνωστὸς ἐν τῇ Ιουδαίᾳ ὁ θεός, ἐν τῷ Ισραηλ μέγα τὸ ὄνομα αὐτοῦ. 3–4 ib. 6 ἐταράχθησαν πάντες οἱ ἀσύνετοι τῇ καρδίᾳ. 8 ib. 4 ἐκεῖ συνέτριψεν τὰ κράτη τῶν τόξων, ὄπλον καὶ ῥομφαίαν καὶ πόλεμον.

2 κατωκιςθη, the last two letters very cursively written, but we have not found a better reading (κατωκίζεται, for κατοικεῖται, fails on τ, which would take the cursive form not found elsewhere in this piece; κατωκισατο too fails on τ, and in any case looks too long, and the middle unexpected).

3–4 paraphrase Ps. 75.3 καὶ ἐγενήθη ἐν εἰρήνῃ ὁ τόπος αὐτοῦ καὶ τὸ κατοικητήριον αὐτοῦ ἐν Σιών. Is. 40.9 ὁ εὐαγγελιζόμενος Σιών, 52.7 εὐαγγελιζομένου ἀκοὴν εἰρήνης, Acts 10.36 εὐαγγελιζόμενος εἰρήνην.

3 αλλε, the last character apparently the cross-bar and lower curve of epsilon in the literary shape, the cross-bar cut by an upright descending from above the line. We might interpret this as (i) αλλ[ε], i.e. ἀλλ' with a dittography of the following ε deleted, or perhaps even overwritten with a small α; or (ii) αλλε, with something, possibly eta, suprascript above epsilon. Perhaps (ii) might represent ἀλλη(λουια), but we can produce no parallel for the abbreviated form. (i) would be an addition to the psalm text, but intelligible enough in itself.

4 η ασηνετητε: the next trace, suggesting sigma, is merged with the tau of τη, suggesting a correction. The Psalm text has οἱ ἀσύνετοι, of which η ασηνετη could be an itacistic spelling. But τε then remains to be accounted for. On the other hand, it seems unlikely that the copyist intended αἱ ἀσυνέτητες, or οἱ ἀσυνέτητοι, words otherwise not attested.

και, below alpha a long trailing stroke, as if the copyist had written αι in ligature and then added the iota separately.

5–6 Za. 1.11 πᾶσα ἡ γῆ κατοικεῖται καὶ ἡσυχάζει. IPeter 3.16 μετὰ πρᾶντητος καὶ φόβου. Ps. 49.14 ἀπόδος τῷ ὑψίστῳ τὰς εὐχὰς σου, and often.

6 απωδιωτες: apparently –δω, not –δον or –δω (for –δων).

7 After προσφεροντες, a long thin oblique descending from right to left into the next line (unless it is an unusually extended branch of kappa in 8 κρατη), then a short thick oblique descending from left to right. A section mark? or α, i.e. ἀ(λληλουια), cf. 3?

8 Here the right-angle paragraphos opens the line, and touches the initial ε at half height; in 10 it comes between the lines in the usual way.

10–11 Ps. 67.2 ἀναστήτω ὁ θεὸς καὶ διασκορπισθήτωσαν οἱ ἐχθροὶ αὐτοῦ, καὶ φυγέτωσαν οἱ μισοῦντες αὐτὸν ἀπὸ προσώπου αὐτοῦ.

11 εχθρους or perhaps εκθρους.

12 ....., fourth perhaps ε. ],, top of upright. ],, possibly right-hand curve as of omicron? εταρ[α]χ[θησαν, cf. 3?

13 αυ[τ]ων επτηξαν (the final nu represented only by upright traces on the edge) seems possible: IMacc. 12.28 ἐφοβήθησαν καὶ ἔπτηξαν τῇ καρδίᾳ αὐτῶν.

†K. TREU

## II. EURIPIDES

In volume LIII were published such manuscripts of Euripides' extant later plays—those constituting vol. iii of the OCT—as had at that time been identified (3712–19). The texts presented here are a supplement to that group. Again thanks are due to Dr James Diggle for additions and corrections.

### 4012. EURIPIDES, *Phoenissae* 430–7, 461–7

95/69(a)

4.2 × 4.2 cm

Fifth century

A scrap of a parchment codex, written in a medium-sized sloping hand of the type illustrated by G. Cavallo and H. Maehler, *Greek Bookhands of the early Byzantine Period*, nos. 15a and 15b and assignable to the fifth century. The contrast between thick and thin strokes is pronounced but not extreme. α is sharp, the midstroke of ε descends and is kept short, ο tends not to attain its full oval height and shape, τ has dots at either end of the thin top-bar. Much if not all of the lectional apparatus, which includes extensive accentuation, appears to be by a second hand. On the rather unsafe assumption that between 437 and 462 there was no discrepancy of line-count between the papyrus and the mediævally transmitted text, the depth of the written area may be calculated as c. 18 cm, occupied by c. 30 lines.

Two notable points of textual interest: a nearly new reading in 434, and substantial discrepancy at 436 f.

Recto (flesh side)

430 πολλοὶ δὲ δανα]ω[  
 παρῑσι λυπραν] χαρῑν [α]γα[  
 διδοντες· ἐπι γ]αρ τὴν ἐμὴν [  
 πολιν· θεοὺς δ'] ἐπώμοσα ὥς [  
 τοῖς φίλτατοι]ς τεκοῦσιν ἡ[  
 435 ἀλλ' εἰς σὲ τεινεί] τωνδε διὰ[  
 437? ]εκὰμῃ[

Verso (hair side)

]..[

εις εν κυνε]λθω[ν] ομμ[  
 εφ οισιν η]κει ταῦτα χρ[  
 κακων δε] των πρὶν μ[  
 465 λογος μεν ο]υν σος προσθ[  
 ευ γαρ στρα]τευμα δανα[  
 αδικα πεπον]θως ὥς[

433 ἐπώμοσα scriptio plena (so too R).

434 τεκοῦσιν. The paradosis is τοκεῦσιν: editors read ἐκοῦσιν, attested only as a γρ. variant in schol.<sup>B</sup> (τοκεῦσιν schol.<sup>M</sup>, τεκοῦσιν schol.<sup>VC</sup>, but that these are corrupt for ἐκοῦσιν in the scholium is guaranteed by the exegesis that follows, τῶ ἀδελφῶ μου κτλ.). The halfway house τεκοῦσιν, apart from its occurrence in the corrupt schol.<sup>VC</sup>, is found only in Vr (Palat. gr. 343)—not a significant conjunction, I take it.

436 f. as transmitted run μῆτερ, διαλλάξασαν ὁμογενεῖς φίλους | παῦσαι πόνων με καὶ σὲ καὶ πᾶσαν πόλιν. The papyrus had something different: I imagine 437 in a slightly different form, παῦσαι (or Wecklein's παῦσον) πόνων σ] ἐ καμῆ [καὶ πᾶσαν πόλιν. 436 is apparently absent: corroboration of Nauck's suspicion of it. (On the presumptively interpolated status of verses absent from papyri see *CQ* 26 (1976) 4–10.) σὲ καμῆ, which was in fact conjectured by Elmsley, has what seems to me the distinct advantage of allowing both pronouns to be emphatic.<sup>1</sup>

462 κυνε]λθω[ν] not -οντ'.

M. W. HASLAM

**4013.** EURIPIDES, *Orestes* 314–20

95/68(b)

3.0 × 5.0 cm

First century BC/  
first century AD

A scrap written in a fair-sized round and upright serified hand which I would date early in the first century or towards the end of the previous one; comparable hands are those of P. Vindob. G 19996 a and b (MPER n.s. 1), Pap. du Fayoum 1 (Bull. Soc. Alex. n.s. 3, pl. ix), P. Berol. 9775 (Schubart, *Pap. gr. Berol.* 11b). It comes from the same manuscript as P. Köln VI 252 (*Or.* 134–42: *Π*<sup>4</sup> Diggle, 409.1 Mertens-Pack), to judge from the plate in P. Köln III (Taf. IVc). The back is blank.

*Orestes* papyri are listed by James Diggle, *The Textual Tradition of Euripides' Orestes* (Oxford 1991), 115 f., and in the 3rd edition of Roger A. Pack's *The Greek and Latin Literary Texts from Greco-Roman Egypt*, revised by Paul Mertens (whom I thank for a

<sup>1</sup> Here as at e.g. *Med.* 327, *Hipp.* 1409, *IA* 677, fr. 898.4, I find no good reason not to prefer the orthotone form (contra Kühner-Gerth I 557, Schwyzler II 187; cf. Diggle, *CR* 32 (1982) 134 n. 4). I am delighted to say that Dr Diggle now accepts this.

315      καν μ]η νος[  
καμα]τος βρο[  
                ].      [  
                δρ]ομαδες[  
                ]ποτνιαδες[  
                ]αβακχευτο[  
320      ]δακ . . . . . [

320 Consistent with  $\delta\alpha\kappa\rho\upsilon\varsigma[\iota]$   $\kappa\alpha[\iota]$ , as transmitted. Not  $\delta\alpha\kappa\rho\nu\omicron\iota\varsigma$  (OCr); failure to share trivial error in Cr does not compromise the possibility of Cr's access to ancient tradition raised by its  $\delta\mu\omega\varsigma$  at 138, in apparent agreement with P. Köln 252 (Diggle, *Textual Tradition* 118; but Gronewald's exclusion of  $\omega[\iota]$  in the papyrus should not simply be swept aside).

M. W. HASLAM

## 104/23(a)

 $4.3 \times 16.0 \text{ cm}$ 

## Second century

There is slight textual overlap with **4015**.

	οραζεμ[	
	ιδ[ο]νατας [	
	]ωγμαπω[	
	]ριστολωι[	
5	]λαγεσι [	990
	]τιλουφο[	
	]οντου [	
	]ροσυ[[ <sup>ε</sup> α]]ραιστιαις[	
	]ων [	
10	] . . . ας [	
	]εμοις [	995
	]ς [	
	]μαιαδοστοκο[	
	]ρνοσοποτε [	
15	]ολοον [	
	] . [	1000
	]ωτοναλιου [	
	] [	
	] [	
	] [	
	] [	
	] [	

No reconstruction is offered, for it has proved unexpectedly difficult to find supplements of consistently compatible length with one another. One can only assume there were not differing degrees of indentation, but to assume otherwise helps little. It may be that some of the lacunae conceal more textual discrepancy than is displayed among the medieval manuscripts. I number the lines 1–17 for convenience of reference.

1  $\delta\varsigma$  ἔτεκεν ἔτεκε γενέτ]ορας seems too long a supplement. Perhaps without  $\epsilon\tau\epsilon\kappa\epsilon\nu$ ; that would be compatible for length with 4, the next line whose text is anything like assured, though perhaps a little on the short side. For the medieval manuscripts Dr Diggle reports: ἔτεκεν ἔτεκε(ν) plerique: ἔτεκε LRRwZmZuTp: ἔτεκεν AdZbZd.

1–2 After γενέτορας the paradosis is ἐμέθεν δόμων, οἱ κατείδον ἄτας, the main manuscripts dividing after δόμων, MnSZ after ἐμέθεν (Diggle, *Textual Tradition*, 149). In the papyrus 2|δομων οι κατε]ιδ[ο]ν (v. sim., e.g. δομους αι) would seem to suit the space; ]οιας κατ. too short.

3 Going by 4, I would say ποτανον (Porson) μεν δι]ωγμα has the edge for length on the transmitted το πατανον μ. δ., but there can be nothing like certainty.

4 I am presuming τεθριπποβαμο]νι, as transmitted (–ωνι MS).

5 πελοψ οτε πε]λαγεσι seems a bit short: so perhaps οποτε (reported by Diggle for MnS and



V<sup>3s</sup>Aa<sup>rs</sup>An<sup>1c</sup>L<sup>2</sup>) or οτ'επι. Both 4014 and 4015 have -εσι, lending no support to Diggle's sympathy for -εσσι, given by MBO of the vetustiores.

5–6 It is not clear whether or not πε]λαγεσι ends its line (as in 4015: most codd. continue it to διε|: Diggle, *Textual Tradition* 138). Close inspection reveals that the surface is not quite blank, and abrasion hereabouts is severe. On the other hand, |διεδιφρευσε μυρ]τιλου would seem to be better suited to the space in 6 than would |διφ-. The remains of 6 are rubbed and not readily identified, but φ is recognizable.

7 δικων ες οιδμα π]οντου.

8 The correction of the slip is entered in a large thick hand. Before π]ρος, λευκοκυμοσιν (or -μασιν) may be a bit long: perhaps -σι (which Dr Diggle reports for An).

9 ποντιων καλ]ων seems on the short side, but perhaps not intolerably so. Diggle reports that division after γεραιστίας is almost universal, but that the only manuscripts which isolate ποντίων σάλων are MBVACKRfT<sup>2</sup>Γp, most of the others combining it with what goes before or after.

10 ἡϊόσιν (or ἡϊόσιν or sim.) ἀρματεύσας is the paradosis (ἀρματάσας At [~At<sup>2</sup>]), but the traces on the papyrus are anomalous, hardly ]υεαc. υ would be acceptable (only letter-top traces remain), but what follows cannot be read as c, and does not seem to be any regularly formed letter.

11–13 οθεν δομοιcι τοic] εμοicι | [ηλθ ara πολυστονο]c is unproblematic, but then λοχευμα ποιμνιοicι] μαιαδος seems rather long.

14 το χρυσομαλλον (or -μαλον) α]ρνος.

14–15 The mid-stroke of the final ε is extended. The papyrus evidently divided οποτε|γενετο, as most codd., metrically untenable. For 15 γενετο (or εγενετο) τεραc] ολοον is too short, and it may be that the papyrus had ολοον doubled, weakly attested among the medieval mss (MnPrRRwS, a homogeneous group: Diggle, *Textual Tradition* 36), though this looks rather on the long side.

16 There is no knowing what precise forms the papyrus had, but the longer forms (the transmitted Ἀτρέως rather than Ἀτρέος, Dindorf's ἵπποβώτα rather than -βότα or -βάτα) seem best for length.

17 οθεν εριc το τε πετρ]ωτον αλιου. In the supplemented part I cannot exclude any of the variants. ἀλίου Porson: ἀελίου (vel ἀελ- vel ἡελ-) codd. and Philoponus. The papyrus confirms the antiquity of the transmitted colometry (cf. Diggle, *Textual Tradition* 139).

M. W. HASLAM

#### 4015. EURIPIDES, *Orestes* 990–93

104/9(b)

2.4 × 2.4 cm

First century

A scrap written in an ungainly plain informal hand assignable to the first century. Back blank.

]ελαγεσι [	990	πελοψ οτε π]ελαγεσι διεδιφρευσε μ]υρτιλου φ[ονον δικων εc οιδ]μα ποντ[ου ]...[
------------	-----	---

990 α corrected from ε *calamo corrente*. The 'restored' transcript at the right is what seems most suggested by the spacing. π]ελαγεσι ends its line (cf. the preceding number). The mediievally transmitted colometry is the same except insofar that at 990 the best attested division is the metrically difficult διε|δίφρευσε (see Diggle, *Textual Tradition* 138 for details of the manuscripts' colometries); the papyrus' division between the words presumably derives from this. ὁπότε or (better for space) ὅτ' ἐπὶ instead of ὅτε is not excluded, but the space requirements seem satisfied by the transmitted text.

993 Text not assured.

M. W. HASLAM



4016. EURIPIDES, *Orestes* 1233–52

104/162(a)

6.3 × 10.2 cm

Second century

A badly damaged and abraded fragment of a single column of a de luxe manuscript, written in an early ‘Biblical Uncial’ type of hand comparable with II **224** and P. Lit. Lond. 78 (plates 6 and 14 in G. Cavallo, *Ricerche sulla Maiuscola Biblica*) and assignable to the latter part of the second century, though I would not care to rule out the first half of the third. Some accents are in evidence, and a breathing (diacritical: 1244 εἶς), all I think by the first hand. Elision is apparently signalled where effected, but scriptio plena is preferred in cases of potential formal ambiguity (1236 ἀπέλυσα, 1241 ἀκοντίζουσι). In cases of *antilabe* the lines are divided. Paragraphi and speaker identifications do not survive. On the back are much damaged remains of apparently documentary line-ends.

The suspected v. 1245 is present. A recent conjecture in v. 1250 is confirmed. In 1246 ff. there is some textual overlap with XI **1370** fr. 9.

In the transcript I have effected identification of letters only where what remains seems sufficiently indicative to warrant it, though in some cases identification could not be arrived at without the aid of the known text; in contexts where the traces are wholly indeterminate dots alone are given.

- ω κυγγενεια πατ]ρο[ς  
 αγαμεμνον εις]ἀκου[σων  
 1235a ] . .  
 1235b ηψαμην δ εγω ξι]φους.  
 ] . [ . ] . . . . ἀπελυσα ο[κν  
 1237a ]  
 1237b ] . . .  
 ουκουν ονειδη τ]αδε κλυω[ν  
 1239a δακρυοις κατα]ςπε[ν]δω σε  
 1239b ] . .  
 1240 παυσασθε και] πρὸς εργον εξορμ[ωμεθα  
 ειπερ γαρ εισω] γης ακοντιζουσι ἀ[ραι  
 κλυει· κυ δ ω ζ]ευ προγορε και δικ[ης  
 δοτ ευτυχη]σαι τωδ’ εμοι τ[ε  
 τρισσοις φιλοι]ς γαρ εἶς ἀγω[ν  
 1245 η ζην απασιν] η θανειν ο[φειλεται  
 ] . [ . ] . [  
 τα πρωτα κατα π]ελαςγ[ον  
 τινα θροε]ις αυδαν ποτνια [

1250           ετι κοι το]δ εν δαγαιδᾶν π[ολει  
               κτητε αι μεν υμω]ν τονδ' αμ[αξηρη  
               αι δ ενθαδ αλλο]ν οἰμον ες [

1235a Perhaps εκτεινα μητερ]α, followed by a low stop as in the next line.

1236 The initial traces are so scant as to be unusable. κ is hardly suggested before α, but if και was written (for the scriptio plena cf. απελυα ο[κν–) I cannot verify it. What preceded is still less recoverable. απ itself looks somewhat dubious, and I was tempted to read οτ, but close inspection gives assurance of the pi if not of the alpha.

1237a If the surface had not suffered such damage the end of κοι πατερ αργων should be in view, but now there are no clearly visible traces.

1237b The assignment of such vestiges of ink as remain is quite uncertain, but there is nothing to suggest that the text was anything other than the transmitted ουδ' εγω προυδωκα σε.

1239b εγω δ οικτοιει] γε presumable but unverifiable.

1241 ακογτιζουει α[ραι cf. 1236 above for the scriptio plena. At *Bac.* 1131 in XXII 2223 I read πασα ομ[ου.

1245 The letters are sparsely represented but the reading is in little real doubt.

1246 The surface is mostly blank, and the few scattered specks give no basis for decision between φιλαι (codd.) and φιλilai (Hermann). Despite 1370's aberrant layout we would expect the lyrics to be uniformly indented with respect to the trimeters regardless of speaker, and the evidence is consistent with this.

1247/8 I see no certain traces of ink before ε. τα πρωτα κατα fits the space well enough before πελαγον (I am using the next line for a fix on the line-beginning, see on 1250) but slightly shorter supplements (e.g. Hartung's πρωτ' ανα) are not out of the question.

1250 On the assumption that the previous line began τινα θροεις and that this line was ranged with it, the space will nicely accommodate ετι κοι το]δ (or τα]δ), as transcribed. Division at this point is well attested among the medieval manuscripts, see Diggle, *Textual Tradition* 139. I expect τοδ' εν was written with apostrophe, now gone; τοδ]ε εν is perhaps not quite excluded, but ]δ rather than ]ε better suits the base-line trace.

δαγαιδᾶν accords with Diggle's conjecture: Δαναϊδῶν codd. The upper part of the letter remains, definitely not ω.

1251, 1252 No reliance can be put on the supplements with regard to elision and scriptio plena.

M. W. HASLAM

#### 4017. HYPOTHESES TO EURIPIDES' *Bacchae* AND OTHER PLAYS

88 X5V

Fr. 2 5.7 × 7 cm

Second century

Twenty-seven papyrus fragments (of which only three contain more than six lines of text) containing parts of hypotheses to four or more plays of Euripides. They are written on the back of quotations from the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* written out as prose. The identification of these helped in making nine joins. The hand is a rather ungainly, sometimes backward sloping, semi-cursive of a type typical for hypotheses of this kind. It is similar to XLII 3013 (hypothesis to a *Tereus*) and LII 3653 (hypotheses to Sophocles' *Nauplios Katapleōn* and *Niobe*) and may be dated to the second half of the second century, cf. C. H. Roberts, *Greek Literary Hands*, pl. 14a and in particular 17a=

VI **853**. There are no punctuation or lectional signs but the scribe has sometimes indicated word breaks by a wider space between letters. There are c. 27–30 letters per line, judging from fr. 2 ii 4, which can be firmly supplemented.

The present text follows the usual pattern and layout for papyrus hypotheses (see the introduction to **3653**). It has previously been referred to in *Pap. Congr.* IX (Oslo, 1958), 7.

The identifiable parts are fr. 1, part of a hypothesis to Eur. *Andromache*, fr. 2 ii 3 ff., which contains the first part of a hypothesis to the *Bacchae*, and fr. 4, almost certainly from a *Bellerophon* hypothesis. Above and before fr. 2 ii 3 is part of another hypothesis, which, given that such texts are ordered alphabetically only to the first letter of the title, will have been of a play in *A* or *B*. Fr. 5 has the beginning of a fifth but unknown hypothesis. Fr. 2 contains the right-hand ends of nine lines from the lower part of a column, followed by lines of a second column surviving for the greater part of its width. Since fr. 2 ii 1 is on the top edge of the top margin of the text on the front, it is probably the first line of its column.

The text of the *Bacchae* hypothesis is close to that of the hypothesis preserved in the Codex Palatinus (P), but like other papyrus hypotheses, where the medieval text survives and can be compared, has many minor discrepancies.

I am greatly indebted to Dr W. Luppe (Halle) for several helpful suggestions and ideas, and also to Dr J. Diggle, especially for some re-readings of P.

## Fr. 1

. . . . .

] . [

]  $\rho\alpha\gamma\epsilon\nu$  [

]  $\nu$   $\pi\epsilon\iota\varsigma\alpha$  [

] .  $\sigma\nu$  . . [

5       ] .  $\pi\eta\lambda\epsilon$  [

]  $\nu$  . . [ . . ] . [

. . . . .

## Fr. 2

see pp. 18–19

Fr. 3

Top

]ησπαρ[

]υτοσδε[

]αι . . το . ε . [

] . μ . πτα[

5 ]ων . . . ερ . [

] . . . π τη[

] . . ης . τη . [

. . . . .

Fr. 4

Top

]μφορα . [

] . φ . [ c. 5 ]ασβασε . [

]ησας . [ . . . ] . . α . . [

]μετανεπ[ . . . ]ων . [

5 ] . η . ηται . ο[ . . . ]εν[

] . σθενεβο . . [ . . . . . ] . [

]τοπουστου . [ . . . ] . . . . [

]λερ . [ . . . ]ν . . [

]ν . [

10 ] . φ[

. . . . .

Fr. 5

. . .  
] . [

]ς [

] . τουτοκο . [

]ς [

. . . . .

Fr. 7

. . .  
]α . [

]λοφρ[

] . υς . [

. . . . .

Fr. 10

. . .  
] . [

]φ . [

. . . . .

Fr. 13

. . .  
] . . . . [

] . λεπω . [

. . . . .

Fr. 15

. . .  
]ογ[

]π . [

. . . . .

Fr. 18

. . .  
] . κ[

. . . . .

Fr. 20

. . .  
]ει[

. . . . .

Fr. 22

. . .  
] . . [

]εν[

] . φα[

] . λον[

5 ] . . . . [

. . . . .

$]v$

col. ii

5  
 10  
 15  
 20

πρεπον[  
 ουτους .ι ε.[  
 Βά[κχαι ὦν ἀρχή·  
 ἦ[κω Δ]ι[ὸς] παῖς τή[ν]δ[ε] Θηβαίων  
 χθόνα ἦ δ' ὑπόθεσι[ς·  
 Δι[ό]νυσον οἱ πρεσέκοντες ἐν Θήβ[αις]  
 οὐκ ἔφ[η]σεν εἶναι θεόν· ὁ δ' αὐτοῖς τιμω[ρί-  
 αν] ἐπέστ[η]σε τὴν πρέπου[ς]αν. ἐν[μα-  
 νεῖς γὰρ ἐποίησεν τὰς [Θ]η[β]αίων γ[υ-  
 ν]αῖκας, ὦν αἱ Κᾰδμ[ου] θυγατέρ[ε]ς  
 ἀ[φ]ηγούμεναι τοὺς θι[α]σμ[ο]ὺς ἦγα[γον]  
 π[ρ]ὸς τὸν Κιθαιρώνα. Κᾰδμος μὲ[ν]  
 γ[η]ραλῆος [...]ηδη ... Σεμέλῃ[ 4-5  
 ως ἐπι[...].....[ 10-12  
 θεὸν ὀργι[...].....[ c. 11  
 τ[...]α[...].....[ παραλαβὼν τὴν  
 βασιλίαν ἐδ[υσ]φόρει τοῖς γινομένοις καί  
 τινας μὲ[ν] τῶν Βακ[χ]ῶν συνλα[β]ῶν  
 ἔδ[η]σεν, ἐπ' αὐ[τὸν] δὲ τὸν] θ[ε]ο[ν] [ἄλλους  
 ἀπέστειλεν[



## Fr. 23

. . .  
 ].[  
 ]:ν.[  
 ]ας[  
 Foot?

## Fr. 24

. . .  
 ].α.[  
 ]δ.[  
 ]ος[  
 . . .

## Fr. 25

. . .  
 ]ω. . [  
 Foot?

## Fr. 26

. . .  
 ]νη[  
 . . .

## Fr. 27

. . .  
 ].[  
 ].[  
 ].[  
 ]ο.[  
 . . .

## Fr. 1

4 . . [, η or κα possible

## Fr. 2 i

1 ]., trace only      2 ]. . ρ., possibly foot of descender, then low right trace followed by base of rounded letter and lower part of vertical      4 ]., thick stroke of ink, compatible with top right arc of rounded letter      5 ο preceded by deliberate space      7 If ν, the two verticals are very widely spaced      8 ]., cross-bar linking to top of α

## Fr. 2 ii

2 After c, a deliberate blank space of a letter's width followed by base of a vertical; then lower part of descender, with possible trace of horizontal linking to preceding vertical; perhaps τι. Then another letter space. .[, foot of descender      4 ]ι[, low trace only ]π, top right of cross-bar. After τ, two low traces, probably separated by a letter      6 . . [, high trace followed by top of vertical. After ν apparently top of vertical, and then top right arc of rounded letter      ρ . ., ο or θ, then foot of vertical; third letter has feet of two verticals with right end of high cross-bar as of π      7 ]., mid trace; ς and ν fairly certain      8 ]., horizontal linking to top left of π. After ρ high trace; then oblique sloping down to right like the first π in the line. After ο top left of letter compatible with ν      9 After ν, part of rounded letter followed by low slanting stroke, compatible with cursive ει ligature; before ρ high cross-bar and low oblique      τας, cross-bar of τ written over twice. Then right of η rather than cross-bar of θ linking to left of η      β completely lost      .[, speck only      10 First five letters very cursive and only identifiable because the text is known      .[, right of θ with cross-bar linking to ν. Of γ only right end of horizontal      11 Before η traces followed by right of letter, compatible with φ. The combination μο is certain, cf. the exactly similar sequence of strokes in 12, καθμος. . γ. [, two verticals, the first with a leftward serif at the foot as of η or ν, then vertical with cross-bar at top; third, pointed tip of a letter      12 .[, high ink, compatible with top right of π. After τον ligature of αι just discernible      13 ]., vertical plus trace of cross-bar? After η uncertain whether a deliberate space or abrasion. Before ε a likely suggestion could be confirmed; after, mid ink on either side of a hole      14 . . [, perhaps ι followed by γ, π or τ      . . . [, jumbled traces, perhaps including ε at the end      15 .[, ink on broken vertical edge      .[, trace only      16 τ. [, τη, τι, or possibly π[. After α high ink to left and right and low ink between; then mid horizontal      .[, possibly α      17 .[, top of letter      19 .[ and ].[, high ink. After ]ν[, probably a space

## Fr. 3

3 After α top of rounded letter and high ink to right, followed perhaps by cursive π After ο and ε traces only .[, vertical ink 4 ]., low trace After μ left of rounded letter, e.g. ε 5 After ν two letters ligatured together, second perhaps α or λ; then vertical as of ι or right of η 6 ]. . . , η or π, then ο or c, followed by ε 7 ]. . . , two specks of high ink, as also after c and η

## Fr. 4

1 ]μ or α .[, low ink joining preceding α 2 ]., low right ink, perhaps α .[, right-facing curve 3 .[, perhaps left of ω ]. . , η or π followed by ο or c After α possibly c, then mid and high ink 4 .[, first, a rounded letter, ε or ο? .[, top half of vertical with top hooked to left, as in κ or η 5 ]., foot of vertical and horizontal joining η, perhaps γ or τ After η rounded letter, possibly c? ρ[, perhaps μ, then ο or ε 6 Badly rubbed After ζ perhaps θ ε.ο, two verticals At end perhaps η 7 τ ο υ .[, rest of fragment has mostly jumbled traces only

## Fr. 5

1 Descender only: φ or ρ 3 ρ. [, small circle of ρ might be top of ρ; then right-facing curve with extra ink at top, e.g. ω

## Fr. 7

1 .[, vertical and specks to right – ι or ν? 3 ]., high rounded ink .[, right-facing curve

## Fr. 10

Stripped area on left of fragment 1 Left-facing curve 2 .[, right-facing curve

## Fr. 12

Remains of 2–3 letters, first perhaps ν

## Fr. 13

1 First and fourth have long descenders, i.e. ρ or φ

## Fr. 18

Before κ horizontal at mid-level

## Fr. 22

1 Feet of two verticals close together 3 ]., small ο or c? 4 ]., ink joining λ at mid height, as of ε or λ 5 Tops of letters, mostly rounded

## Fr. 24

1 ]., right foot of perhaps λ or μ .[, long vertical of ρ or φ visible above next line

## Fr. 25

1 .[, left- and right-facing feet; then perhaps ο or c Below, either bottom margin or part of blank area in heading of a new hypothesis

## Fr. 27

3 μ or ω

## Fr. 1

Identified by Luppe as part of a hypothesis to the *Andromache* on the basis of overlaps between ll. 2–3 and 5 and the text preserved in L and other mss. A papyrus text of this hypothesis survives in LII **3650**. Although the line-length of c. 27–30 letters cannot allow a text in precisely the same order or necessarily as complete as that in L or **3650**, the coincidences are convincing.

2–4 πα)ραγεν[όμενος ... ταύτην μὲν ἀπήγαγε]ν πείσα[ς Νεοπτολέμῳ δ' ἐπεβούλευσε]ν ὃν κα[ί ...], with Ὁρέτης perhaps preceding παραγενόμενος.

5 Πηλε[ῖ.

## Fr. 2 ii

1–2 E.g. τοι]/ούτους.

3–5 The heading for the next play, the *Bacchae*, is indented in the usual way for such hypotheses. Spacing suggests that ἤκω could easily have fitted into l. 3, but that the line was intentionally indented from the right as well as the left.

3 Βά[κχαι: the title as preserved by P and most sources; Πενθεύς L.

4 Since the low trace of ι can only be from Διός, the word must have been widely separated from the preceding and following words.

τῇ[ν]δ[ε] Θηβαίων: L P; Θηβαίαν grammatici quidam: Θηβαίαν κατά fere codd. Prisciani.

6 l. προσήκοντες.

6–7 Διόνυσον οἱ προσήκοντες οὐκ ἔφασαν εἶναι θεόν P. The first word of the papyrus hypothesis can hardly be other than Διόνυσον, as in P, but the antepenultimate letter is not obviously c. ἐν Θήβαις om. P.

A main verb with a plural subject is required at the beginning of l. 7, but since the ε is clear, the pap. did not have ἔφασαν. The εεν ending appears to be singular, which must be wrong; perhaps οὐ]/κ ἔφ]ηεν, l. ἔφασαν; the spacing at the line-beginning would probably be too tight for οὐκ to start the line.

9–10 τὰς τῶν Θηβαίων γυναῖκας, ὧν αἱ τοῦ Κάδμου θυγατέρες P: τῶν and τοῦ om. pap.; see J. Diggle, *ZPE* 77 (1989) 9–10.

11 θι[α]μο[ύ]ς, wrongly: θράκου P, θιάκου Elmsley.

ἡγ[α]γον: εἰσῆγον P, ἐξῆγον Kirchhoff.

12 π[ρ]ός: ἐπί P. μέ[ν] οὖν Diggle, cf. *ZPE* 77, 2 ff.

12–16 Κάδμος μὲν ... not paralleled in P, which after Κιθαιρώνα carries on Πενθεὺς δὲ ....

13 [ῶν] ἤδη ... ζεμέλη[ς] πατήρ Luppe.

14 ἐπὶ τ[ῇ] συγγε]νείᾳ Luppe.

15 ὄργι[: part of ὄργια or ὄργιάζω. Cadmus is presumably still the subject here, so that this refers to his reverence for Dionysus, cf. *Bacchae* 178–89. Shortly after, however, the subject must change to Pentheus, as in P.

16 It is tempting to read Πενθεὺς δέ, ὁ /τῇ[ς] Ἄγ]αύη[ς] π]α[ί]ς, παραλαβὼν τὴν, but the remaining ink and the spacing in the first half of the line are not convincing. παραβὼν P, παραλαβὼν Elmsley. Dr Diggle suggests as an alternative τ]αύτ[ης], with Agave mentioned in the preceding sentence; having omitted the preceding sentence, P would have had to insert the name here.

17 l. βασιλείαν. The line, if supplemented from P, is too long by 9–10 letters; perhaps τούτοις instead of τοῖς γινομένοις.

19 Dr Diggle points out that P has ἄλλου, not ἄλλως as previous editors have claimed.

## Fr. 3

The text on the front indicates that this fragment may come from the upper part of fr. 2 i.

2 α]ὐτὸς δέ, Diggle.

## Fr. 4

Identified by Luppe from the names in ll. 6 and 8 as part of a *Bellerophon* hypothesis. This would fit the A–B sequence of plays represented in these fragments; a fragment of a *Stheneboia*, another Euripidean play dealing with the same theme, is less likely among these fragments. Parts of a *Bellerophon* also survive in LII 3651 (see introd. there), but there is apparently no overlap in the texts.

1 E.g. τῆς συ]μφορᾶς [.

4 μετανόη[?] Cf. μετανόησας in *hyp. Andr.* 4, μετενόησεν *ibid.* 12, Diggle.

6 ζεξεβόια[

7 τῶν τούτ[ου]ς?

8 Βελ]λερο[φ]ό]ντῃ[.

## Fr. 5

The blank spaces at the right of 2 and 4 show that this is the beginning of a new hypothesis. If the layout were the same as in the *Bacchae* hypothesis, l. 1 would be the last line of the preceding hypothesis,

c in l. 2 would be the last letter of a title (perhaps a masculine singular name), followed by οὐ, ἦc or ὦν ἀρχή some distance to the right. Ll. 3 and 4 contain the first line of the play—unfortunately not identifiable—with ἦ δ' ὑπόθεσις presumably again some way to the right.

Frr. 6, 8, 9, 11–12, 14, 16, 17, 19 and 21 are all blank.

Fr. 13

2 ]βλέπω ?, Diggle.

H. M. COCKLE

### III. MENANDER

This section includes items which can be assigned, certainly or plausibly, to known titles of Menander.

In referring to the plays, I use Sandbach's line-numbering. 'B' indicates the Bodmer Codex, 'C' the Cairo Codex.

I am indebted for help, advice and ideas to Dr C. F. L. Austin; and for various corrections and suggestions to Mr P. G. McC. Brown and Professor R. Kassel.

#### 4018. MENANDER, *Dyskolos* 529-31, 557-61

86/104(a)

6.2 × 6 cm

Fourth-fifth century

This scrap represents the top outer corner of a page from a parchment codex, with an upper margin of at least 2.5 cm, and a side margin of at least 2 cm. The parchment is fine and papery. The main hand used an ink which has now turned dark brown; in places it has penetrated right through the parchment, or even eaten it into holes. A second hand (blackier ink) added the numeration on the recto, a third (thin pen, ink that is now pale brown) added the lectional signs, which include grave accent, rough and smooth breathing, elision mark and diastole (558). The script is small (1.5 mm high), upright and foursquare, with heavy shading and occasional ornament (blob-finials on the upper strokes of  $\epsilon$  and  $\gamma$ ; elegant sloping finials on the foot of  $\rho$  and the apex of  $\alpha$ ). It has some likeness to the Biblical Uncial in its later phases (note  $\kappa$  with the branches separated from the trunk); but some letter forms (looped  $\alpha$ ,  $\mu$  with rounded bow), and infringements of bilinearity ( $\rho$  breaks the lower line, as often; but  $o$  floats above it), are alien to the classic form. A closely comparable hand is that of III 411 (*GMAW* 71), which Cavallo assigns to the beginning of the fifth century (*Ricerche sulla maiuscola biblica* I 73).

The recto contained *Dyskolos* lines 529 to 556. That makes a written height of c. 14 cm, and a page height of c. 20 cm; the written width can be estimated at 11-12 cm, and the page width at 15-17 cm. This sort of format has parallels enough: see E. G. Turner, *Typology of the Early Codex* 28.

A new (but inferior?) reading in 529.

Recto

top  
 ] ~ κζ ~ ~  
 , ~  
 ] . ὀπηνικά  
 ] νᾶμα 530  
 ]

Verso

top  
 μικροῦ διαδρα[  
 γέγον' οὐκ' . [  
 τομει . [  
 560 κ[

The recto carries the numeral '27', set off by curlicues, at the top right. This might be a page number (nothing similar survives on the verso, but if the numbers were consistently to the right of the page, it would be lost there), or a quire signature. The earlier part of this play, 528 lines, would have taken up some 19 pages; if then '27' refers to the page, and assuming that the pages were numbered consecutively from the beginning of the codex, *Dyskolos* must have begun on page 8. But the remaining seven pages would be too little for another play, and too much for prefatory matter. That makes it more likely that '27' identifies the quire; see on this Turner, *Typology* 77.

529 μετεστρεφομένην τι πηνικά B. 4018 had ὀπηνικά, as the rounded trace and rough breathing make clear; before that, ν preceded by an upright on the edge, allowing ]ην (the apparent vertical bisecting nu is the stem of rho on the other side; the dots above are probably accidental, not deleting). The indirect interrogative suits the grammar; but it seems a pity to lose the liveliness of τι.

558 The trace allows α[καίρος.

559 The trace allows μείρ[ακίον.

P. J. PARSONS

**4019.** MENANDER, *Dyskolos* 740-50

118/54(f)

6 × 12.5 cm

Third century

On one side, parallel with the fibres, remains of cursive. On the other, across the fibres, line-beginnings from the foot of a column, intercolumnium of at least 3 cm to the left; the text is easily identified as from *Dyskolos*. The hand is a rapid informal degeneration of Severe Style; no lectional signs are visible, not even paragraphoi. The *nota personae* in 748 is, or may be, by the main hand.

It might be guessed that a badly written copy on the verso, with wide margin preceding, might be just an extract from the play copied for practice. But the presence





4020. MENANDER, *Epitrepontes*: Hypothesis

71/3(b)

4.7 × 11.5 cm

Second century

On the back of this scrap, in a coarse hand, are line-ends from an account in drachmae. On the front (written parallel with the fibres), 7 cm from the top, begins a text in a small, neat hand, rather featureless except for occasional serifs, to be assigned to the second century. Above stand five beginnings in a larger script; the first letter of 1, and all the letters of 3–5, written with a thick pen, or perhaps rather overwritten (note the thin final nu in 5), to give a heavy blotched effect. Since 2 reads *ἐπιτρέ*[], and 3–5 contain Menander fr. 600.1 Kock, which is normally assigned to the opening scene of *Epitrepontes* (fr. 1 S), and 6 ff. plainly refer to the content of the same play, we must be dealing with an hypothesis preceded by an ornamental heading. I have found no parallel to this lay-out (on the detail, see 1 ff. note). IV 663, hypothesis to Cratinus' *Dionysalexandros*, is superficially similar; but there it seems that the calligraphic 'heading' represents the title of the play itself, around which the hypothesis text was later added (see E. W. Handley, *BICS* 29 (1982) 114 and pl. 7).

There is no means of telling whether our papyrus belongs to a copy of the play, or to a collection of hypotheses, or represents (given the ineptness of the ornamental script; note also the enlarged initial in 2, documentary style) a short copying exercise. Dr Coles wondered whether the heading might be (at least in part) the work of the same hand as wrote the account.

The only well-preserved Menander hypotheses, X 1235 (Koerte I pp. 146–50), follow a pattern which we could reconstruct as (a) title (b) *ὦν* (or the like) *ἀρχή* (c) first line (d) didascalical comment (e) *ἡ δ' ὑπόθεσις* (f) plot summary (g) critical judgment. Of the other scraps, XXXI 2534 (*CGFPR* 202 + 111) contains the end of one hypothesis, with (f) and (g), and the beginning of another, with (a), probably (b) (restored in lacuna), (c) and probably (d) (*ἐποιήθη*[]) does not seem to suit a plot summary, though what follows might; see the discussion in *CQ* 59 (1965) 56 f.); PIFAO 337 (*CGFPR* 203 + 119) has the end of (g) and a beginning with (a), (b) and (c). 4020 follows an irregular pattern: (a), then (c), in the heading; (g) in the main text. But the form of (g), which discusses the characters of the play by function, not by name, has parallels in 1235 95 ff. and *CGFPR* 203.

I am much indebted to Adam Beresford and Mark Pobjoy for detailed and illuminating discussion of the text.

<i>Ε</i> . . [	
<i>ΕΠΙΤΡΕ</i> [	<i>Ἐπιτρέ</i> [ <i>ποντες</i>
<i>ουχοτ</i> [	<i>οὐχ ὁ τ</i> <i>ρόφι</i> —
<i>μοσσο</i> [	<i>μός σο</i> <i>υ</i> , <i>πρὸς</i>

1 . . [, first, *π* or possibly *ιτ*; second, foot of upright hooked to the right?

5	θεων [	θεῶν
	τοδραματωνα[	τὸ δρᾶμα τῶν ἀ[ρίστων
	περιγε.ογεν.α[	περιγέγονεν.α[
	ηθων.παντων[	ἡθῶν ἀπάντων [
	δυοτονμενσωφ[	δύο, τὸν μὲν σωφ[ρόνως
10	δαισχνομενω[	δ' αἰσχνομένω[ς
	]αμετηνκοσμιω[	γ]αμετὴν κοσμίω[ς
	]εταιριαναφελως.[	εὔταιραν ἀφελῶς .[
	]φιλαργυρονλογισμ[	φιλάργυρον λογισμ[
	]...απονταδ....[	θ]εράποντα δ....[

7 γε., lower part of upright, narrow band of stripped fibres above and continuing to the right .α[, probably τ, the left-hand extension of the cross-bar shortened by damage; possibly γ, but no certain example of this letter has the cross-bar projecting to the left of the upright 12 .[, upright with high cross-bar projecting a little to the left, π or possibly γ (see on 7) 14 ]., first, upper left-hand arc of circle, more ink at mid-height to right (would suit cross-bar of ε) δ., first, parts of upright

1 ff. In 3–4, the quotation fixes the line-lengths; to judge from a traced reconstruction, 4 must have projected to the right of 3 by nearly two letters. If 2 contains the title *επιτρε[ποντες*, that line projected by nearly four letters beyond 3: i.e. the scribe could have made equal lines by writing *μος* at the end of 3 instead of the head of 4. I do not know how to account for these irregularities, except as ineptness or if 2 was abbreviated. One explanation would be this: 2 contained the full formula expected from other hypotheses, *επιτρε[ποντες ων αρχη*, and what followed this long line was set out in two narrow parallel columns. But this seems otherwise most implausible. Why chop up the first verse in this way? What occupied the second column? Even if it projected downwards into the blank that divides heading from text, there would hardly be space for a list of characters, perhaps not even for a didascalic notice. (The elaborate arrangement of PAnt I 15, see *CGFPR* 240, is different.) I conclude that *ὦν ἀρχή* was omitted.

1 After ε, perhaps π, perhaps ιτ; then perhaps the foot of an upright just below line-level. The writing is substantially larger than in 2; and if that is to be reconstructed as the title, I do not see what to do with this. Possibilities: (1) the title copied twice—but then line 1 would have projected substantially to the right of line 2; (2) a number, see e.g. **1235** 106 f. and *CGFPR* 111—but I see no ordinal that would fit; (3) an alternative title (such as existed for other plays, Gomme & Sandbach p. 130)—but I can think of nothing more plausible than *Ἐπι[τροπή ἡ]*, which would at least make a line of the same length as 2.

3–5 *Epitr.* fr. 1, thus confirmed as the first line of the play. The small blank at the end of 4 suggests that the final *Ὀνήσιμος* was omitted (too long to be concluded in this line alone).

5–6 A blank of nearly 2 cm. There is no trace of the formula *ἡ δ' ὑπόθεσις*, which in a typical hypothesis introduces the plot-summary; even if it had been centred above a double column, the beginning should show. But in any case our text omits (or postpones) the plot-summary.

6 ff. **1235** 96 ff. reads τὸ δὲ δ[ρᾶμα τῶν] ἀ[ρίστων· εἰ δὲ πρ[εβύτην] | εὔ[όργητο]ν κτλ—the characters listed by function, not by name, asyndetically, with one or two adjectives to describe their personality. So here in 9–12, but with adverbs (so that one or more participles must be supplied).

6–7 Two possibilities. (i) write τῶν ἀ[ρίστων, and end the sentence there. (ii) Write τῶν ἀ[λλων (...)] περιγέγονεν.

(i) is the formula that Wilamowitz restored at **1235** 96 f. (cf. *CGFPR* 202.5). He will have had in mind the thumbnail verdicts known from various medieval hypotheses to plays of Sophocles, Euripides and Aristophanes (listed by Achelis, *Philol.* 27 (1914–6) 132 f., and summarised in P. T. Stevens' edition of Euripides, *Andromache* (1971) p. 27). All follow the pattern τὸ (...) δρᾶμα τῶν ..., without verb. ἀρίστων is not actually attested, but suits the style (and the spacing in **1235**).

Since the formula suits the genre, we should adopt it. In that case *περιγέγονεν*, 'it is superior', belongs to a new clause; since this clause should explain the verdict, γάρ makes a tempting reading (the trace suits γ, or perhaps τ). In that case, ἀ[ρίστων ends its line, and that line was no longer than 4.

We have therefore to assume that the text, like the heading, was set out in a fairly narrow column. For example:

περιγέγονεν γὰρ δείξει  
 ἡθῶν ἀπάντων, [ἔχον δούλους  
 δύο, τὸν μὲν σωφ[ρόνως, τὸν  
 10 δ' αἰσχυνομένω[ς δικάζοντα,  
 γ]αμετήν κοσμίω[ς ἐρώσαν,  
 ἑταίραν ἀφελῶς, γ[έροντα  
 φιλάργυρον λογισμ[ὸν ἔχοντα,  
 θεράποντα δικ[. . .]

Thus the characters come in contrasted pairs, the title characters first; the fragment breaks off before we reach Charisios. But there remains a difficulty about the line-lengths. If we take 4 and 6 as standard, 9 and 13 would project two letters to the right, and 8 and 10 more. 8 is the crux: unless I have misunderstood the construction, we need both a word to govern the following accusatives, and a noun to go with δύο, and I do not see how to do with less space. It is true that, if we take 2 *ἐπιτρε[ποντες* as the norm, even 8 would just about conform. But the result will still be a notably irregular right-hand margin. You may account for that by the scribe's evident desire not to divide words over the line-end. But these irregularities are not cheering. The notes which follow assume the short line. But 8 may be a warning that all the lines were longer; even if 7 was self-contained, it could be restored at greater length (say, τῶν ἄ[γαν ἐπιτετευγμένων, cf. Arg. A4 to Aristoph., *Pax*, p. 3.27 Holwerda, etc.).

9–10 Syriskos and Daos. The suggested restoration leaves room for doubt. (i) 9 comes out a little longer than 6. (ii) In its only attested use, DH 7.50, αἰσχυνομένως is linked as a synonym with σωφρόνως. But here we expect, if not the direct contrast which Smikrines' verdict might justify, at least some differentiation. On the other hand, there seems no philological reason why, in the right context, the word should not mean 'shamefully'.

11–12 Pamphile and Habrotonon. It is a question whether the adverbs refer (i) to their conduct, or (ii) to Charisios' conduct towards them. If we fill the end of 10 with a participle, we have no room for νεανίαν or the like; and in any case there is no room for νεανίαν τὴν μὲν, which looks like the minimum requirement. I therefore prefer (i). What should the participle be? I had thought of ἐρώσαν; Professor Kassel suggests λέγουσαν, because ἡθος shows itself above all in speech.

12 ἀφελῶς: 'frankly' (*Epitr.* 432)? or, if there is a contrast with 11, more 'openly' than befits a slave (*Theogn.* 1212)?

13 Smikrines. We expect his entry to begin with the noun designating him. This must come in 12. That leaves no room for a separate participle (say, π[ράσσουσιν] to go with ἀφελῶς. γ[έροντα] seems likely, although the trace might equally suit π[. I propose γ[έροντα] ... λογισμ[ὸν ἔχοντα] or the like (λόγισμ[α ποοῦντα] Kassel) because (i) γ[έροντος] ... λογισμ[ὸν] would spoil the run of personal accusatives; (ii) γ[έροντα] ... λογισμ[ῶι] sounds forced; (iii) ἔχοντα or the like would continue the string of participles.

14 Onesimos. δικ is likely, then faint traces. One could think of δίκαι[ον], to agree with the preceding noun, or with λογισμ[όν], if Smikrines and Onesimos are presented, like Pamphile and Habrotonon, as a pair (cf. *Epitr.* 1078 ff?). δίκαι[ολογούντα] Kassel.

P. J. PARSONS



**4021.** MENANDER, *Epitrepontes* 150–164 etc.

87/331(a)

Fr. 1 5.5 × 9.5 cm

Third century

On one side, these scraps carry cursive writing parallel with the fibres: fr. 1 and 2 seem to belong to the same document, fr. 3 has line-ends and beginnings from two other documents, joined together in a *synkollesimos*. Fr. 1.15 preserves part of a date-clause referring to the sole reign of Caracalla (AD 213–217) or the reign of Alexander Severus (222–235).

On the other side (verso), upside-down and across the fibres, are remains of lines suggesting comedy. The slovenly script has strong cursive tendencies (*a* often as an open hook), with many ligatures; deep-bellied *μ*, flat-based *ω*. In itself, it could be assigned to the second or third century; the recto document shows that it cannot be earlier than the third. In fr. 1, change of speaker is indicated by paragraphos and space; dicolon perhaps in 157, not visible in 155 (but on damaged surface); at 160 the space is filled with an oblique stroke in paler ink. The text-hand added abbreviated names of speakers in the margin and above the line. No lectional signs survive, except for elision mark and (fr. 3.10) diaeresis. In general, this looks like an amateurish copy; note the itacism in 161, and the doubled paragraphoi in 155–6 and 160–1.

Fr. 1 twice offers the *nomen personae* *αβροτ*: if this is Habrotonon, the likely source is Menander's *Epitrepontes*, for the name is rare (known otherwise only as a bit part in *Perikeiromene*). A coincidence of text confirms this: fr. 1.10–15 evidently provide beginnings for the headless lines *Epitrep.* 159–164, fr. 2 odd letters from the latter part of these lines. For the lines as so far known we depend wholly on the Petersburg parchment (P). This leaf contains 127–148 on the recto and 159–177 on the verso; its lower part is missing, and the lacuna appears in the conventional numeration as ten lines, but may in fact have been substantially more (see below, fr. 3 note). **4021** fr. 1 + 2 now add the beginnings of 150–158; confirm some but not all of the standard supplements in 159–64; and show that, as most editors have argued, Habrotonon, Smikrines and Chairestratos are all on stage at this point. Fr. 3, line-beginnings apparently from a monologue, remains unplaced. The sloppiness of the script, and surface damage in fr. 1 + 2, make the readings more than usually unreliable.

Fr. 1

Fr. 2

		· · · · ·
150	]	...[ ].[
	]	πρoσε[
	]	.....[
	]	αποδοῦ.δ[
	]	αβροτ — τη..ρ.ικ..[ ]..[
		c..



155 ] ογερω. ε. . τω[. ] . . .  
 ] α. . ο. [.] . κα. ον[.] . . [ ] . . [

χ[

160 ] τηςν. [.] . ος. ε. [.] . . [ ] βρο[  
 ] αβροτ αλλ' ουκεκαλ. [ ] . ων[.] . [

χα[

160 ] αειπο. . / ο. [ ] . . [ ] ο. [ ] . [

160 ] εισιμιδουν. [ ] . . ε[.] . [ ] . [

160 ] παντα. [ ] . . . . . [

160 ] . . . . . [ ] . . . τ. [

160 ] φρας. [ ] . ο. η. [

foot

Fr. 1

150 . . . [.] . [ , second, long descender as of ι, ρ 153 υ. [ , scattered ink at line-level 154 η. . ρ, upright, junction at foot, perhaps ν if the oblique trace at the top right of η forms the beginning; then perhaps π, but unexplained oblique dash above the right-hand side; then ρ (or possible β) likely, but unexplained ink (parts of circle?) above 155 ογ, ink above γ to right, i.e. γ'? , top of upright ε. , probably a pin-headed ρ 157 . [ , perhaps left-hand branch, and base, of υ ] . , low ink, then high trace (right-hand end of horizontal?) 158 αλλ', the elision mark is enormous and might have been taken for part of a letter; unexplained ink above υ (breathing? variant?) λ. [ , parts of left-hand arc of circle? μ[ perhaps not excluded 158-9 thick paragraphos (double stroke?) 159 υ, parts of circle? . [ , top of upright 160 . [ , perhaps top left hook of υ 160-1 thick paragraphos (three strokes) 161 . [ , top left-hand arc? 162 . , tip of oblique sloping down from left to right . [ , parts of high horizontal 164 . [ , faint trace on darkened surface

Fr. 2

158 ] . , two points of ink ranged vertically on the edge (branches of κ, ζ, χ?) 161 ] . . ε, second long horizontal at mid-height, short vertical trace below (τ?)

The known text in 159 ff. fixes the relative positions of fr. 1 and 2. The surface is much damaged. In fr. 1.154-7 the last two traces of the line stand on a scrap which is attached only by straggling fibres (I have considered placing it a little lower, so that the traces assigned to 156 would attach to the character-name below, giving χα; but there seems to be more ink than would be expected of a typical abbreviated form). Many traces on fr. 2 are too ambiguous to describe, and the traces on the extreme right are on a partly detached vertical strip which is too fragile to straighten.

152 I can make nothing of the remains. Perhaps . . μη. [ , the last trace only a point at line level; but μ might be λα or another similar combination, η would be anomalously shaped. At the beginning, at least two overlapping horizontals, one or both of which might be a paragraphos, but rather low in the line; then a high curve that might represent the joined upper loop of ε. εμη, καλη equally unsatisfactory.

153 ἀποδοὺς δ[ possible.

154 Ἀβρότ(ονον). The name in fact stands a little higher than the verse itself, ranging with the paragraphos.

Perhaps τῇν προῖκα. [ , but ν would be cramped, and this reading does not account for ink above π and ρ (superscript letters?) and between ρ and the putative ο. As sense, it could combine with 153 and 155 (if rightly read), 'The old man' wants Charisios to 'give back' his daughter and her 'dowry': the dowry is already an issue in 134, and Smikrines will come to claim it in 1079.

155 ογερω. : this continues Habrotonon's remark (there is no trace of a paragraphos between 154 and 155). ὁ γέρωγ is tempting; if right, it shows that here at least Habrotonon and Chairestratos talk about

Smikrines, not to him. But the reading does not explain ink to the top right of γ, which might suggest ὁ γ' ἐρωγ.

Then Smikrines speaks: *σμ* suits the suprascript letters, perhaps *σμ̄* rather than *σμ̄̄*. ἐρωτῶ[, ἐρωτῶ[ν, ἐρωτῶ[ν (the first ω vestigial and doubtful; the second substantial, not α)?

156 Ink in the left-hand margin, but I cannot reconcile it with any of the expected character-names. Smikrines begins a speech in 155, Chairestratos in 157; the speaker changed again in 156 (paragraphos). At simplest we could assume a speech of Habrotonon in between. But of course Smikrines may have resumed towards the end of 156.

ἀσχοῦ might be read (the noun; the verb seems rare in the middle; cf. 127 ff. for wine-bibbing); or ἀγχοῦ (not suited to the style?) or ἄγχοῦ (but elsewhere ἀπάγχεσθαι).

In ]κα.ον, the first trace is very vague; after κα, the foot of an oblique descender, with more ink above, some apparently joining ο at its top left—too much, it seems, for ι or ρ, and wrongly spaced for τ.

Professor Kassel notes that ἀλλ' οὐ [δ]ίκαιον would be plausible in itself; but the first λ, at least, looks impossible as a reading.

157 τῆς νυ[κ]τός? Charisios' nocturnal dissipation (136)? After that, a point near line-level: remains of a dicolon? A new speech, headed Χ[αίρ(ε)στρατος], follows.

Fr. 2 provides ]βρο[; to judge from 159 ff., this should come about 20 letters from the beginning of the line. Since Habrotonon speaks next, it's likely enough that we have a vocative Χ[αίρ(ε)στρατον], ending with the fifth or sixth foot.

158 Χ[αίρ(ε)στρατον] seems certain from the β and the raised τ; the putative ρ is intersected by a rising oblique, as if αβ/ had been the intention at one time.

ἀλλ' οὐκ ἐκαλ[?] (ἐκαλθ[?] looks possible, but not ἐκαλε[?]) But this reading does not explain the extra ink above ν (unless it is a breathing).

159–164 survive headless in P. Joining the two texts, and adding the traces on fr. 2 (often very uncertain, especially in 162, and those on the far right uncertainly placed) we have:

οὕτως ἀγαθόν ]τι σοι γέν]οιτο, μ]ὴ λέγε  
 160 αειπο. . (Χαίρ.) οὐκ ἐς κόρακ]ας; οἰμώ]ξει μακρά.  
 (Σμ.) εἷς<ε>μι δ' οὖν ε]ἴσω καφώ]ς τε πν]θόμενος  
 ἅπαντα τ[αὐ]τα τῆς θυγ]ατρός]ς, βουλεύομαι  
 τ]ρόπον πρὸς ] τῶ]ν ἡδη προσβαλῶ.  
 φράσω[μ] ]εν αὐτῶ] τοῦ] ἡκ]οντ' ἐνθάδε;

This confirms the supplements proposed for 159 and 164, but corrects those in 160–2; in 163 not enough can be read to confirm or disconfirm ὄντινα.

159–60 There is no paragraphos below 159; that implies that the beginning of 160 continues the speech from 159. I can make nothing of it. (i) The ink. αειπο. ., the penultimate trace has the shape of a small nu, but there is more ink above it, touching the right-hand upright; then the tip at line-level of an oblique rising from left to right, which apparently continued over a small gap as a thick rising stroke; below this, in slightly lighter ink, is a thinner rising stroke, which I have taken to denote change of speaker (see 4022 introd.). (ii) The context. What do we expect from μὴ λέγε? It could be followed by an accusative (fr. 612.1; *Men. et Phil.* 1.217) or a clause, τίς ἦεθα (*Men. et Phil.* 1.259), ὅτι (3.27); it might mean simply 'shut up' (Aristoph., *Vesp.* 37, *Pax* 648). On the face of it, οὕτως κτλ attaches to it as a formula of request; but we could also take the formula as object, 'Don't say "Bless you ..."'. Elsewhere in the play, the phrase is put in the mouth of Syriskos (264 f.); and see fr. 3.7–8 note.

Since ἂ εἶπον is excluded by prosody (and in any case leaves the last trace unexplained), we seem reduced to ἀεί. But what then? My only idea was ποτε; but then (i) τ does not suit either the main trace or the suprascript; (ii) the phrase (see editors on *Dysk.* 426) seems generally to belong in general statements, not commands—unless here it begins a new sentence, which Smikrines breaks off in order to get down to business (δ' οὖν).

160–1 The papyrus gives the curse to Chairestratos, presumably addressed to Smikrines. Then, clearly, Smikrines speaks 161–2; presumably his name is concealed in the left margin of 161. If we assume that Chairestratos would not address Smikrines with the same freedom that Smikrines uses towards a slave

(1068), his curse here must have been an aside; and that raises the question whether, even at the end of the scene, Chairestratos and Habrotonon converse with Smikrines, or simply comment on his monologue.

## Fr. 3

1	. . ] . ε . . . . η [	
	. . ] . ζ ε ι . . . ς α [	
	. ] . ο υ . α . η [	
	. ] . ρ α τ ρ ε ι β ο μ [	π ] α ρ α τ ρ ε ι β ο μ [
5	. ] ω ρ α ς α ν α . [	
	. ] ο γ α ρ π [ . ] ρ α . [	
	. ] . α λ λ α . η . . . [	
	. ] γ α θ α γ ε ν ο ι . [	ἀ ] γ α θ ᾶ γ έ ν ο ι [ τ ο
	. ] α θ ε υ δ ' α ν α ς . [	κ ] α θ ε υ δ ' ᾰ ν α ς . [
10	] ῑ ς α ς ι ν ἡ ν ἔ χ ω . [	ῑ ς α ς ι ν ἡ ν ἔ χ ω . [
	. ] π ω λ ε ς ε ν . [	ἀ π ῶ λ ε ς ε ν . [
	] α γ α θ ο ν γ ε ν ο [	ἀ γ α θ ὸ ν γ έ ν ο [ ι
	] ε λ α λ ε ι δ ε μ ο ι . [	ἐ λ ᾶ λ ε ι δ ε μ ο ι . [
	] α υ τ ο ν ε θ ε . ε . [	α υ τ ὸ ν ἐ θ έ λ ε . [
	ο	
15	] υ μ α ς ε ν [ ] χ λ ε [	ύ μ ᾱ ς ἐ ν ο χ λ ε [
	] . υ θ ε . δ ε ο μ . [	ο ύ θ ἔ ν δ ε ο μ . [
	. ] . ω τ . χ ο ν . [	
	. ] . τ ο ς ε ι . [	
	. ] . ν α ι κ [	
20	] ρ ῥ α π ο [	
	. ] . δ α κ ω [	

- 1 ε., upright    η[, γ (τ) plus left-hand arc not excluded?    2 ς α, perhaps π α not excluded  
 3 ], ink at line-level    α., loop of φ or lower loop of β?    4 ], α acceptable    7 α., horizontal  
 joining at mid-height    . . [, lower arc of circle; foot of upright with serif to left; lower part of upright  
 on the edge?    8 . [, spot of ink at half-height    9 ς . [, unexplained trace to top right of ς (possibly  
*diastole*?), not certainly ink; then τ? or left-hand part of π?    10 Of the first iota, the top of the upright  
 and the left-hand dot of the diaeresis    η ν, if right, in ligature    [, high spot on the edge    11 . [,  
 left-hand end of horizontal just above line-level    13 μ ο, unexplained ink above    [, trace on edge  
 (left-hand end of horizontal or descending oblique?) just below letter-tops    14 ε., oblique feet as of  
 λ    [, perhaps top of upright ligatured to ε    15 [ . ], blotted letter; alterations also to following χ  
 (darker ink)    16 . υ, left-hand arc    18 . [, τ? or part of π?

Some suggestions of dialogue. But no paragraphoi can be seen in 12–15, where the line-beginnings survive, or in 3–11, where the right-hand end at least would be expected to show. Of course, we may have a continuous speech which quotes a conversation. One character begs (8, 12), another dismisses him (7, 9)?

Fr. 3 was copied by the same hand as frs. 1–2. The chances are that it came from the same play. It may even have come from the same scene, if the repeated ἀγαθὰ (–θὸν) γένοιτο is significant (see fr. 1.159 note). But in fact the phrase recurs in other scenes (below, 7–8 note).

In the immediate context, there are physical arguments. (i) **4021**. Fr. 1 has the foot of a column. Fr. 3 cannot belong to the same column, since the documentary texts on the backs are different. At closest, it could belong to the preceding column, or the following; if the former, we need to allow for a lacuna, i.e. the lines which originally stood above fr. 1; how large a lacuna, we have no means of determining, but presumably not less than 15 verses, since at this narrow spacing the column must have contained at least 30 lines. (ii) *Membrana Petropolitana*. The lower part of the leaf is lost. Early editors guessed a page of 30–35 lines, and therefore estimated the lacuna at c. 10 lines (149–158, 178 ff.); this is still implied by the conventional line-numbering. But Turner produced parallels for a codex-format, in which the page would hold c. 50 lines (*GRBS* 10 (1969) 311 f.; *Typology of the Early Codex* (1977) 112 no. 227(a)). If we assume that, the gap between 148 and 159 amounted to c. 28 lines. Of these, fr. 1 provides beginnings of the last 9. If the 21 lines of fr. 3 immediately preceded, they might just fit in the lacuna, or just overlap the headless lines 145–8. But the argument under (i) suggests that they cannot have come immediately before; and if we do allow for (say) another 15 lines between, the top of fr. 3 should substantially overlap lines 141 ff. Since I see no way of splicing the two, I conclude that either the page in P was even larger than Turner suggested or fr. 3 does not belong here.

Alternative placings would be: (a) in the lacuna before 127 or (b) in the lacuna after 177. With (a) we might visualise Smikrines relating a conversation with Charisios (how else did he know so many details, cf. 138?); but that goes against the normal assumption that at 127 Sm. ‘can hardly have been long on the stage’ (Gomme & Sandbach 294). As to (b), the γένοιτο formula might connect this speech with Daos (264 f.); but again it is normally assumed that 218 is the first line, or nearly, of the scene. That leaves the opening of the act, a monologue (it seems), perhaps by Onesimos (or by Smikrines?); or of course a scene totally lost in the gap between the end of P and the beginning of C.

3 ]ουσα possible.

4 π]αρατριβομ[ seems inevitable (the spacing would allow the line to begin with ]α; but clearly ἀρα is excluded by the metre, and ἀρα as a first word).

5 χ]ώρας (or φ]ωρᾶς) would be one division; then perhaps αναπ[ or ανατ[ (but the traces might also allow αναγ[, even αναβ[; space and trace tell against αναστ[, cf. 9).

6 τ]ὸ γὰρ π[έ]ρας [ could be considered, cf. τὸ δὲ πέρας *Dysk.* 117 and elsewhere. But the final trace is rather angular for sigma.

7–8 ἀ]παλλαγῇ could be read, and indeed ἀ]παλλάγηθι. A brisk dismissal (Austin on *Asp.* 246)? Then [οὕτω πολλά σοι (or μοι)] ἀγαθὰ γένοιτο. For the plural in this formula, cf. *Dysk.* 300 f. More usually ἀγαθόν, see 12 and fr. 1.159, *Misoum.* 433. Such phrases may reinforce a request (*Ephr.* 264 f., Syriskos) or an asseveration (*Ephr.* 1071, Smikrines). Here presumably it goes with the imperative preceding (if rightly read) or following in 9.

8 The height of the final trace suggests γενοιθ[ rather than γενοιτ[ο.

9 *Pk.* 469 κάθειδ’ ἀπελθών (Pataikos tries to get rid of the drunken Polemon, in a scene in which Habrotonon plays the flute). Here ἀναστ[άς could be read (or ἀναστ[?]), but ‘get up and sleep’ rings oddly: therefore ἀνάστ[ηθ’ Kassel.

12 οὕτω τι σοι (or μοι)] ἀγαθὸν γένο[ιτο, see on 7–8.

13 ἐλάλει *Ephr.* 886, *Sik.* 213. Probably δέ μοι, but the trace allows δέ μοιχ[.

15 It seems that ενοχλε[ was the final intention (ο written above a blotted α, parts of χ in darker ink?); the last trace suitable to iota. ὑμᾶς may be the subject of this verb, or perhaps the object (we expect a dative on the model of *Dysk.* 693; but the accusative is adequately attested, e.g. *Diod. Com.* 2.18, even if *Misoum.* 189 is a special case).

16 *Pk.* 180 οὐδὲ ἐν/δεόμενος, fr. 89.2 οὐδὲν δεόμενον προικός.

17 Space and trace allow οὐ] τῷ τυχόντ[ι.

19 ]γυναικ[ could be considered. This reading would not explain a horizontal trace between ν and ν; but the apparent ink may be delusory.



<sup>20</sup> προαπο-. Many compounds are available (note *Dysk.* 391 προαπολεί μ' (edd.: προς- pap.); προαπολῶ *CGFPR* 272.5).

21 If  $\delta\alpha\kappa\acute{\omega}$ [ $\nu$ , see Austin on *Sam.* 356.

**4022.** MENANDER, *Epitrepontes* 290-301, 338-345, 376-400, 421-447

88/157(b)

c.  $8 \times 12$  cm

Second century

These tattered fragments represent two consecutive leaves of a papyrus codex. The first (fr. 1) had about 47 lines to the page, the second (fr. 2) about 45 lines. On both, 'verso' (the side on which the writing crosses the fibres) precedes 'recto'; Turner observed that this arrangement, ↓ on the right-hand page, and unlike facing unlike, was common in earlier codices (*Typology* 67). The written surface can be estimated, very approximately, at  $6.5 \times 21$  cm.

The graceless and informal script, ornamented with occasional serifs, could be compared with the hands of **841** (Roberts, *GLH* 14), Pindar, *Paean*s, and assigned to the second century. If this dating is right, **4022** should be added to the short list of the earliest codices (Roberts & Skeat, *Birth of the Codex* 71).

In fr. 1↓, where alone line-beginnings survive, paragraphoi indicate change of speaker; within the line, this is indicated by blank space or by blank with punctuation (stop, 393?, 394; high oblique dash, 382, 396, 435; stop without spacing, 395, 436?). The stops, a rough breathing (391) and the *notae personarum* (marginal and suprascript), are or may be by the same hand as the text.

Though the ink is sufficiently clear, the papyrus presents great difficulties, because it is much broken and in some places the traces stand in straggling fibres or pieces which are connected only loosely to the main massif. The text confirms some supplements, and presents a number of variants. The apparent character-names in fr. 2↓ are a particular problem.

Fr. 1 ↓

Fr. 1  $\rightarrow$ 

	] ..[.] . [ ]	
290	] ταμ[ ] φειν	
	] ουδ. [ ] ..ς	
	] ικιδι̇ $\overline{\epsilon\rho}$ [ ] ρ	340
	] ... $\overline{\sigma\upsilon\kappa}$ [ ]	
295	] το. [ ]	
	] [ ] ορ. [ ]	
	] [ ] ου. [ ] τερ	



| [ ] ελα[ ] εν[ ] 345  
 | [ ] ο[ ]  
 300 | [ ] .[ ]  
 | [ ] .[ ]

## Fr. 2↓

375 | .[ ]  
 οιμωζε και βαδιζε] εν δε [ ] .[ ] .[ ]  
 λαβουσα προς τον τρ]οφιμον ]εν]θαδ  
 χαιρεστρατον νυ]ν γαρ με]ν]ου]μεν  
 εις αυριον δε επ]εργον εξορμη]ε]ομεν  
 380 την αποφοραν] αποδοντες αλλ]α ταυτα μοι  
 πρωτ]α παριθ]ημαι καθ]εν] εχ]εις κοιτιδα τινα  
 ονη]ς[ ]  
 βαλλ]εις το προκο]λπιον / μαγειρο]ν βραδυτερον  
 ουδεις εορακε] τηνικαυτ] εχ]θες π]αλαι  
 ε]νυρ  
 | .[ ] ουν ουτοσι μεν φ[ ]  
 385 αλεκτ]ρυω]ν] τις και μα]λ]α στιφ[ρο]ς[ ]  
 τουτι δε δ]ια]λιθον τι πε]λεκυ]ς ου]τ]οσι  
 τι ταυ]τα ]υ]ποχρυςος δακτ]υ[λ]ιο]ς] τις ουτοσι  
 αυτος ε]δ]ηρους γλυμμ]α τ]αυρος η ]τραγος  
 ουκ αν] διαγνοι]ης κλεο]στρ]ατος δε ]τις  
 390 ε]στιν ο πο]η]σας ως λε]γει τα γρ]αμμ]ατα  
 . . [ ]  
 | . . [ ] ην εν ]δ]ει τις ουτ]ος ε]στι τις  
 ] . . . [ ]  
 ο δ]ακ]τυλ]ιο]ς] ο ποι]ος ου γαρ μαν]θα]νω  
 . . [ ]  
 του] δεσποτου τουμο]ν Χαρισιου]· χο]λαιοι  
 . . . [ ]  
 ον] απωλεσεν· τον ]δακτυλιον] θες ]αθλι]ε



| . . . .  
 πω ] c α ] ν     ] . . [     ] . . . . . α . ω [  
 ] περιερχο ] μ ενδον ουτος     ] . ωγαθε  
 τον δακ ] τυλιον η δειξον ωι μελλ ] εις ποτε  
    ο ] γηc  
 445 κρινωμεθ ελθειν δει με ποι τ ] οιουτονει  
       εστιν το πραγμ ανθρωπε του μ ] εν δεσποτ ] ου  
       εστ οιδ ακριβως ουτοσι χαρι ] σιου     |

293 Paragraphos above and below; abbreviated marginal notes to the left of 293 and 294, most likely *notae personarum*. At 293 apparently ] .<sup>K</sup> ιδι: the beginning can easily be read as c ] μιc(ρινηc) or cμ ] ξικ(ρινηc); for the rest, Dr Austin suggests ιδι(α), 'aside', 'to himself'. At 294 confused traces with a raised letter at the end; this too could be read as κ, but also (if part of the ink belongs to the final iota above) as e.g. ω. Allowing for blots, cμi<sup>K</sup> might be possible (but who could have thought he spoke this line?), or ιδιω(c); I cannot read what is expected, i.e. κυρικ(oc) or ανθρακ(ευc).

C too has paragraphos above and below, and divides speeches thus: ειρηκεν: ουκηκουc αειρηκεν: καλωc κυρ'. Modern editors generally follow the dicola by giving the first word, as well as the last, to Syriskos. **4022** might be interpreted as giving the first word to the character named first in the margin, i.e. Smikrines: an arrangement already proposed by Lefebvre and Sudhaus.

376 δε: the following traces may perhaps allow τ α ] ντι.

378 με ] ν ] ον ] μεν, the traces (on straggling fibres) suit ου very well, but high ink (superscript?) remains unexplained.

382 ον ] ηc is a good reading of the superscript letters (of ο the left-hand arc; the right-hand upright of ν fused with the left-hand of η, as at 444); and in 384 c ] υρ is clear. These then are the expected *notae personarum* in what editors take to be a two-character scene. ον ] ηc can be recognised again in 395. But I cannot recognise either name in the superscript letters of 392, 393, 394 and 396. See 396 note.

384 ] ουν: επινον: ουτοσι μεν ειναι φαινεται C. Presumably **4022** had a variant ον ] κ ] ουν ουτοσι μεν φ ] αινεται (in that case, the *nota personae* stands a little to the right of the beginning of his speech, as perhaps in 396). Syriskos has a similar ον ] κουν in 294.

385 cτιφ ] : cτριφνος C. Editors have already been tempted to restore cτιφρός, which Moeris, and XV **1803** quoting Men. fr. 389, declare to be the Attic form.

386 The scribe left a space after τι. Punctuation? There are no superscript letters to suggest that he intended change of speaker.

387 The scribe left a space after τα. Any superscript *nomen personae* would be lost in the lacuna.

389 διαγνοιηc: διαγνοιην C. Editors seem not to have doubted the first person. But the second person seems more idiomatic (and more easily corrupted to the other).

391 ην: above the following letters traces which look more like ον ] than cυρ ] : i.e. τίς δ' εἰ κύ was assigned to Onesimos?

The rough breathing is clearly written.

392 Three or four letters written above ποι ], the first two (γο?) apparently deleted with horizontal strokes. I cannot read either of the expected character-names. See on 396.

393 Above χο ] damaged remains, apparently not cυ, perhaps π. [ . See on 396. Before it, a high trace of ink, perhaps the tip of a letter, perhaps a substantial high stop (not dicolon, for one would expect to see the lower point as well).

394-7 The line-ends stand on a very damaged and confused scrap, placed to the right here on the evidence of the text on the back.

394 Above τον damaged letters: see on 382.

395-7 Doubtful traces on straggling fibres near line-end, perhaps 395 αυτ ] ον ], 396 δεινο ] υ ].

395 Heavy stop after *ἡμετερον*; then *ζοι* with *ο* above, the trace vestigial, presumably *οι[ης]*. It seems that **4022** attached *τὸν ἡμέτερον* to the speech of Syriskos in the preceding line.

396 I cannot read the suprascript letters as either of the expected character-names (382 note). *παις* might suit, but leaves the last two traces unexplained (in any case, it would not distinguish Syriskos from Onesimos). Dr Rea suggests *[[ποι]ςυρ[: ποι(μην)* would have resulted from a confusion between Daos, who was indeed a shepherd, and Syriskos. On that basis, one could try (very doubtfully) to read the parallel suprascripts thus: 392 *[[πο]ς[υρ]*, 393 *π[*, 394 *[[ποι]ς[υρ]*.

397 *]. . ον*, first, right-hand arc of small circle? then two traces at mid-height, perhaps to be combined (since the fibres are distorted) as part of a single upright. *]. . [ ]ωσαι* C: *οἶον* *τὸ ὥσαι* Koerte, *οἶον* *ἄπ[ο]ῶσαι* Lefebvre. **4022** certainly allows *οἶον* (though there might be room for another, narrow, letter before *ο*). But what follows is clearly *γε* or *τε*, and more likely *τε*, to judge from the position of the upright. That is, *οἶον τε ὥσαι* as a question (Austin)?

The scrap on the right may preserve a high trace from the line-end.

400 The surviving letter tops allow *το]ν δεσποτ[*.

421–4 Unassignable traces on a loose vertical fibre to the left.

422 *προτερων*: omega, though damaged, is certain: *προτερον* C.

425 *καταλλαγεις*: *διαλλαγεις* C.

426 *καλως* C.

428 *κυκαν ο. . [*: *κυκαν* C (some have seen further traces to the right; the photograph is indecisive). In **4022** the traces are (1) sigma, or left side of omicron; (2) a point of ink on a high projecting fibre. This excludes the normal supplements (*ἀπεσχόμεν, οὐ βούλομαι, ἀφέξομαι, φυλάξομαι, ἀποτρέψομαι, οὐκ ἔστ' ἐμόν*). *καλῶς* [*ποεῖ . . ὅς ᾑ[ν θέλῃ?* *καλῶς* [*ἄρα . . ὅς ο[ν τάχος*; (Austin: a question, as at 435 f., Onesimos thinks how to create a diversion)?

430–6 Dr Rea observes that *ἡμ* in 430, and the ranging letters in the lines below, stand on a narrow strip of vertical fibres—a patch on the surface?

431–3 Unassigned traces on a loose vertical fibre to the left, in 432 perhaps *χλ, ε, λ, ν*.

432 *εραεθα[* C. **4022** confirms the supplement *προεδόκων* (Capps).

436 Confused traces from the earlier part of the line, possibly *ξελαβον[*. Apparently a stop before *ατοπ[*, but no sign of a speaker-name; after *ν*, probably a stop and traces (the first a long high horizontal) reconcilable with *τα[λας*, and above them suprascript remains which might be read *αβ[ροτ*.

438 *επει το γ ε*: ink from some letters on a lone projecting fibre. *θεα]ς*: *θεον* C.

439 *ε]στιν ταλαν*: *εστ ω ταλαν* C.

440 Croiset's supplement confirmed.

441 *π, ως*, *π* represents an uncertain trace on twisted fibres, perhaps to be discounted (we might expect a blank, to mark change of speaker).

442 Unassigned traces to the right of *πω]ς α[ν. πονετ[ . . ]*, *ωνεγω* C: **4022** might be read *ἡτωνεγω*, with *]]*, *]]* suprascript; *εγω* altered to *αγω* with a suprascript alpha.

443 *]. . ωγαθε*: *ωγαθε* C. *αποδο]ς* possible.

P. J. PARSONS

#### 4023. MENANDER, *Epitrepontes* 655–65 etc

63 6B.63/B(1–2)b

3.5 × 7.5 cm

Third/fourth century

A scrap from a parchment codex, written in a sloping Severe Style assignable to the third/fourth century. Another hand (black ink) was responsible for (all?) the lectional signs. Upper margin preserved to 1.5 cm.

The flesh side preserves text identifiable as *Epitrepontes* 655–65. The text on the hair side must clearly belong to the same play, but no line of it has been identified in what otherwise survives of the context. We have no means of telling which side came





657 ]ο'[, the trace is an oblique so high and so dark that it is likely to be a grave accent, not part of a letter. καταλογονεξονα[πιεν]αιτηνθυγατερα C. In **4023** κατα λογον εξ]ον[ would suit the general spacing; but the accent stands well to the right of its vowel.

658 ]μ[ . . . ] . c[ , before c the feet of two uprights, perhaps the end of a mid-height horizontal crossing the second (i.e. η); after c the left-hand arc of a circle. λαβοντα τουτο με[ν π]ρησω και χεδον C (ρη not verifiable on the photograph). In **4023** space and traces should allow λαβοντα τουτο] μ[ε[ν π]ο]ηρω; possibly an acute accent on η, but it is difficult to be sure in the general darkening.

659 ]οι . . χάν[ , feet of three uprights, perhaps more ink to the right touching the left-hand top of χ; after ν, upright on edge, perhaps trace of cross-bar at mid-height and rightward hook at foot (i.e. ε). δεδογμενον μ[οι τυγχ]ανει μαρτυρομαι C (nothing after ον verifiable on the photograph). In **4023** δεδογμενον μ]οι τυγχάνε]ι would suit.

660 ] . ιρέστρατ[ , first trace perhaps an oblique descending from left to right. ὑμαςδ'ομο[ C (the elision mark, and ομο, not verifiable on the photograph). The favourite supplement has been ὁμο[λογεῖν (Sudhaus). But **4023** offers X]αιρέστρατ[ , where the last syllable of the name must (as the accent shows) be short by nature; c. 10–12 letters preceding. That suggests ὑμᾶς δ' ομο[ . . . Xα]ιρέστρατ' (the vocative to take up ὑμᾶς); or, if both Chairestratos and Simias are present, X]αιρέστρατ[ος καὶ Σιμίας. To judge from a traced reconstruction, ὁμο[ῦ (and even ὁμω[ς, if ω[ could be read in C) would be short for the gap; ὁμό[σαι (or ὁμό[σας Kassel) would fit.

661 ]πεμψα[ , at the end a very short trace, level with the letter-tops, sloping down from left to right; so isolated that it may be a stop, rather than the tip of a damaged oblique. μεθων[ C (nothing visible after ων in the photograph). In combination: μεθ' ὧν [ c. 6 ε]πεμψα?

662 ] . . . άν[ , third probably β, first and second suitable to αμ; after ν, a point of ink on the edge. θυγατερα[C. In combination: θυγατερα[ c. 6 λ]αμβάν[ . Thus θυγατέρα [νὺν ἀπολ]αμβάν[ would fit, but not θυγατέρ' ἀ[πολ] (too short) or θυγατέρα [τὴν ἐμὴν ἀπολ] (too long).

663 Confused traces distorted by a fold.

664 ] . . . ν[ , perhaps ] . γων[ , the last γ or π. E.g. λ]έγων.

#### Hair side

Traces in the upper margin, the lower apparently a long thick horizontal: that is, a page number was set off by under- (and over-) lining?

1 ff. All readings are very uncertain; the upper part is badly warped.

1 ] . ε'ζ[ , the accent is clear, the letter below (which should thus be a vowel) possibly α or ο; of c the back and lower curve; then tall upright, more ink to the right.

3 ] . ' . [ , indistinct; if the trace below the accent is really ink, perhaps the sloping back of α.

4 ] . , possibly ο, but the trace may be delusory. ] . [ , upright on the edge? but more likely a phantom produced by folding and staining.

5 δ . . . [ , of δ only the base and the apex; then short horizontal or narrow arc at line-level; then perhaps c; then perhaps an upright trace. E.g. ]μεν δεξπ[οτ-? (But metre excludes an overlap with 629.). ενδεξς, ενδεξς[τερ- less likely (the third epsilon could be read only if its cross-bar were lost in damage; but the parchment surface looks relatively intact). In any case, not 682.

6 ] . ' ac, first perhaps μ, second dispersed points of ink, ι not indicated but perhaps not excluded (Cι]μός). δ . . [ , first perhaps c (or θ, if a trace to the right represents the projecting cross-bar); then shadowy upright on the edge, most likely not ink.

7 Much damaged traces; ] . . ν λογον [ not excluded.

8 ε, or perhaps ζ.

11 ] . . . [ , for the first α η ι ω seem possible, ο perhaps most likely; then probably τ.

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**4024.** MENANDER, *Leukadia*?

103/210(b)

10 × 7 cm

First century

On one side of this morsel, cursive traces run parallel with the fibres and at right angles to a sheet-join. On the verso, iambic trimeters punctuated by paragraphos and double point. The scribe wrote a graceless informal hand to be compared with XXV **2435** (*GMAW* 57) and assigned to the first century.

Line 5 coincides with Menander fr. 686 KT, quoted by the Etymologicum Genuinum, without specifying the play, for the rare word ζάκορος. The same entry quotes the same word from fr. 112, *Dis Exapaton*, and fr. 257, *Leukadia*. Given the references to πέτρα (2, 8, 10?), and perhaps to a temple of Apollo (1), there is a good chance that our fragment comes from *Leukadia*.

On that play, see most recently K. Gaiser, *Menanders Hydria* (1977) 445 ff.; E. W. Handley, *BICS* 26 (1979) 85 ff. A few quotations survive, fr. 255–62 KT; and some fragments of Turpilii's version (ed. L. Rychlewska, *Turpilii Comici Fragmenta*, Teubner 1971). The Mytilene mosaics include a single scene from the play, with no indication of Act; the central figure, female to judge from its clothing, wears a crown and carries a palm branch, and has therefore been interpreted as the priestess of Apollo (S. Charitonidis, L. Kahil, R. Ginouvès, *Les Mosaiques de la Maison du Ménandre à Mytilène* (1970) 53–7; T. B. L. Webster, rev. J. R. Green and Axel Seeburg, *MNC*<sup>3</sup> XZ 12; XZ 13–14 are possibly related scenes, but without identifying title).

Handley l.c. publishes another piece of comedy from Oxyrhynchus (inv. 50 4B.30/H(5)a, fr. 1); and, since it mentions 'the great rock', suggests that it might come from *Leukadia*. (See further K. Gaiser, *ZPE* 39 (1980) 99 ff., who thinks of *Synaristosai*; H. J. Mette, *Lustrum* 25 (1983) 29 f.) This too is a verso text, in a first century hand. It would be tempting to recognise **4024** as part of the same roll, especially if both fragments are attributed to the beginning of the play (see Handley l.c.; and below). But the hands seem different; and in relation to the literary text, the recto document stands right way up in **4024**, upside-down in Handley's papyrus. Nonetheless, it is a notable coincidence, and one must bear in mind the possibility that a single roll was made up from old documents, some one way up and some the other, and written on by more than one scribe—or by one scribe whose writing varied from place to place.

**4024** carries no character-names. But the dialogue seems to involve two persons: an older woman (7), the Ζάκορος (5); and a 'child', presumably a girl (3 παιδίον, 5 τέκνον). I speculate below that **4024** belongs to an early scene of the play, and represents the first meeting of the heroine with the Priestess (ἡ ζάκορος to be identified with the crowned figure of the mosaic).

top

]πολλον[. ]ει[. . .]. κατ[.] κισθηστρο[  
 ]πανταπετρα[.] αιθαλαττεςτινκ[  
 πολλα  
 ]δεινφοβερα[. .]ς: χαιρεπαιδιον: [  
 ]. τε. .  
 ].. και . . . . . ποτε. ητιςειμε[.  
 5 ] ηζακορ. σηκοςμουσατ. . νεω[[ν]] [  
 ] εφυδωρβαδιζεις: ναιχι: τουτι. . [  
 ]...[ ]αμα: μητερφιλτα[. .] [  
 ]. πουπε. ρας. ινειπεμοι[.  
 ]. υσινατους: ενθαδι [  
 10 ].[. . .]. υψηληνλεγεις[

Α]πολλον, εις [οϊο]ν κατωκίσθησ τρο[πον.  
 ᾱ]παντα πέτρα[ ] καὶ θάλαττ' ἐστιν κ[  
 ῑ]δεῖν φοβερα[. .]ς. (ZA.) χαῖρε πολλά, παιδίον.  
 (PAI.) νῆ καὶ σὺ γ' ἥτις εἰ ποθ'. (ZA.) ἥτις εἰμ' ἐγ[ώ;  
 5 ἡ ζάκορος ἡ κοσμοῦσα τὸν νεώ, τέκνον.  
 (PAI.) ἐφ' ὕδωρ βαδιζεις; (ZA.) ναιχί. (PAI.) τουτι. . [  
 ]...[ ]αμα. (PAI.) μῆτερ φιλάτ[η]  
 ]. ποῦ πέτρα'στιν, εἰπέ μοι  
 ]. υσινατους. ( ) ἐνθαδί [  
 10 ].[. . .]. υψηλην λέγεις[

1 ]π, or ].π εἰ[., apparently ε (not π) ]., ambiguous [.] , cross-bar (oblique? horizontal?) joining upright to right 2 α[., shadowy trace on edge? ]., low oblique foot 3 α[., traces on edge at upper and lower level? or delusory? 4 ]., first, upright with descending oblique joining from left; then, after space, strongly curved right-hand side ποτε., or ποτε:?[., traces on edge 6 .[., perhaps left-hand part of π, then high tip of oblique 7 ]. . .[., first ε (or possibly θ)? then perhaps top of oblique descending from left to right; further trace to right (high horizontal), but so high that it may be simply discoloration? [., left-hand end of high horizontal (τ, possibly π?) 8 ]., top of upright πε., high horizontal touching ρ ε., corrected letter (not just τ)? μοι[., dicolon? 10 ].[., high trace, perhaps tip of tall upright ]., ρ?

1 Α]πολλον. The narrow space following has a damaged surface; it might have contained a stop, or dicolon; it may serve by itself as punctuation.

εἰς, the trace seems to point to sigma, not e.g. εἰπ[έ].

[οϊο]ν. The badly damaged trace seems to suit ν better than other case endings; the space is not large (thus [οἶο]ν rather than [ποῖο]ν).

κατωκίεθης. The trace (and the sense as guessed) suit this better than κατηκίεθης; the spacing suits κατω rather than κατωι.

2 πέτρα[] καί. After ρα, shadowy traces on the edge, but I cannot be sure that they are ink; then, to judge from the normal size of κ a short blank (punctuation?) in the lacuna. Dr Rea points out that πέτρα[ι] (or πέτραι) would be equally possible.

In either case, πῆτρ- represents a tragic prosody (contrast 9; compare fr. 258.3, anapaests from *Leukadia*); cf. Handley on *Dysk.* 414. I have not found a close tragic parallel for the line as a whole (*Soph., Ph.* 902 ἅπαντα δυσχέρεια is somewhat similar). Virg., *Aen.* 3.193 *caelum undique et undique pontus*, Ov., *Tr.* 1.2.23 *quocunque aspicio, nihil est nisi pontus et aer*.

Turpilius perhaps had this line in mind, *Leucad.* XI Rych. *miseram terrent me omnia/maris scopuli, sonitus, solitudo, sanctitudo Apollinis*. (The text is so transmitted by Nonius 174.4; in view of the Greek, and the rhetoric, would one not expect a nominative in place of *maris*?)

At the end, perhaps κ[άτω].

1–2 How many speakers? No paragraphos shows below line 1; but, to judge from the paragraphoi below 3, 4 and 6, it might be completely lost in the initial lacuna (whereas a paragraphos below line 2 would be expected to show its right-hand end). So far as the sense goes, it depends who is addressed in line 1. (i) Two speeches: X addresses the Child, and the Child replies; Ἀπολλον is, as usual, an exclamation. (ii) One speech: the Child addresses Apollo. If (i), we have to assume a third character, since the Priestess does not appear until 3; and the general description in 2 follows oddly on the aorist in 1. (ii), proposed by Dr Rea, is clearly much preferable: the *Leukadia*, to which this fragment can be assigned on other grounds, took place near the temple of Apollo Leukatas (fr. 258).

3 ἰδεῖν seems inevitable, and fits well with φοβερα. [ (Aesch., *Pers.* 27 etc.—another tragic touch?). After φοβερα, shadowy traces on the edge, quite likely not ink at all. Then either (i) φοβέρ' α. [. ]c or (ii) φοβερά . [. ]c. With (i) we might look for an emphatic adverb, but α[ἰνῶ]c (Kassel), ἀ[πλῶ]c, ἄ[κρω]c, all look too long. This approach creates a split anapaest (or divided tribrach). (ii) requires a monosyllable. πως and δὲ seem feeble: τίς Rea: possibly τίς—(interrupted question).

χαῖρε: an older woman, carrying a water-jar, interrupts. Professor Kassel points to a similar scene, with roles reversed, in Plautus' *Rudens*: 263 *iubemus te salvere, mater.—salvete puellae* (the heroine Palaestra greets the priestess Ptolemaia); 285 *ego huius fani sacerdos clueo* (Ptolemaia); 430 the priestess sends Ampelisca to fetch water. Plautus too, and perhaps his Greek original (Diphilus?), set his play near a temple and the sea-shore.

παιδίον: 'child', not 'slave', cf. 5 τέκνον. Nothing in the fragment determines the sex; but the general cast of the scene, and perhaps the fearful tragic tone of 2 f., suggest a girl.

4 γῆ καὶ ζῷ γ': the reply as at *Sam.* 128; *CGFPR* 257.77. Both these continue with a vocative. But here the speaker of 3<sup>b</sup> (addressing παιδίον) identifies herself in 5 (addressing τέκνον). That gives good reason to reconstruct a question in 4<sup>b</sup>, ἦ τις εἰμ' ἐγώ, with change of speaker before it (the papyrus shows a high point, damaged surface below: high stop and dicolon are equally possible readings). Then what follows ζῷ γ' must cue the question. ἦ τις εἰ ποτε suits the spacing well, and εἰ the traces: the traces represented as τις, scattered ink on straggling fibres, do not exclude this reconstruction, but do not confirm it. The objection would be that η[ ] is narrow (and if the first trace there is taken as a large elision mark, the remaining trace is too curved to begin an eta).

Written above ], ποτε is ], τε. ∴ the first trace seems to be the right-hand arc of a circle; after ε a narrow patch of damage; the stop at the end is faint. This should represent a correction or variant; it stands too far left to be a *nota personae*. My only idea is π]στ εἰ, a variant on εἰ ποτ'. But in that case the text before and after must have been different too.

5 Men. fr. 686 KT. The sources are: (i) EtGen (I am grateful to Professor K. Alpers for allowing me to print his collation) ζάκορος: νεωκόρος, ἡγουν ἢ διακονοῦσα περὶ τὸ ἱερόν. Μένανδρος Δὲ ἐξαπατῶντι οὐ Μεγάβυζος ἦν ὅστις γένοιτο ζάκορος [fr. 112]. καὶ πάλιν παρ' αὐτῷ ζάκορος ἢ κοσμοῦσα τὸν ναόν, τέκνον [fr. 686]. καὶ ὁ ὑπηρέτης. Λευκαδία· ἐπίθες τὸ πῦρ ἢ ζάκορος οὕτως καλῶς [fr. 257]. ἢ ὁ ἱερεὺς [so A: B has ὑπηρέτης ἢ ζάκορος in place of the underlined words] ὁ τὸν ναὸν καρῶν κτλ. (ii) EtMagn 407.23 same, but om. Δὲ—παρ' αὐτῷ. Other versions omit fr. 686: (iii) Photius p. 244 Naber same, but om. καὶ πάλιν—τέκνον. (iv) Suda Z 9 same, but om. ἡγουν—ἱερόν and καὶ πάλιν—τέκνον.

Professor Alpers observes that the *subscriptio* in EtGen, confirmed by the parallel tradition in Photius and the Suda, states the source of these glosses as the *Ἐκλογαί* (probably deriving ultimately from Seleucus) and the *ῥητορικόν*.



Meineke, *Men. et Phil.* p. 107, and after him Chr. Dedoussi, *ΦΙΛΤΡΑ: Τιμητικός τόμος Σ. Γ. Καψωμένου*, Thessalonike 1975, 21–3 (I owe the reference to Dr Austin), took ζάκορος alone as quotation, ἡ κοσμοῦσα τὸν ναόν as gloss, the final τέκνον as dittography. **4024** refutes this in every detail (τέκνον is lost at the line-end, but implied by παιδίον above), and confirms that Sylburg was right to recognise a trimeter. Note (1) the papyrus supplies the initial ἡ, which the quotation lacks (suppl. Sylburg); (2) the papyrus gives νεώ (originally νεων; the final ν apparently blotted out, and an expunging dot above), the quotation ναόν; no doubt the papyrus is right (the word does not occur elsewhere in extant Menander).

Gaiser p. 463 assigned fr. 686 to *Leukadia*, and this papyrus tends to confirm the assignment. But on his view, the line addresses the ζάκορος as τέκνον, whom he identifies as a girl serving the temple under the orders of a senior priestess. Our fragment shows that this is not so; see 7 note. The fragments contain nothing about a priestess other than the ζάκορος; that ζάκορος is here addressed as μῆτερ, and could therefore be identified with the central figure of the mosaic.

6 Clearly ἐφ' ὕδωρ begins a new utterance, but there is no sign of a paragraphos above (perhaps we should assume a dicolon at the end of 5).

Here and below I have assumed a simple dialogue between Priestess and Child. But it remains possible that a third person intervenes.

At the end, the likeliest reading seems to be τουτι π. [, the last an oblique crest as of α δ λ. Assuming a simple dialogue, and that the dicolon in 7 is correct, we need to allow for a short utterance of the Child, and another of the Zakoros, before the Child resumes with μῆτερ: presumably question and answer, and making the transition from the water to the rock. Perhaps (ΠΑΙ.) τουτὶ πλ[ησίον; / (Ζα.) ἐν [τῇ πέτρᾳ τὸ (or ῥεῖ Austin) ν]ᾱμα (even ἐν τ[ῇ, if the third trace is really ink).

7 At the end, the papyrus is broken away just above line-level. On the whole it seems likely that, if there had been writing after φιλάτ[η], it would have left traces. I therefore assume that the verse ended there. But the assumption is not secure.

]ᾱμα: one possibility, in the context of fetching water, would be ν]ᾱμα. Again a solemn word, used by Menander for comic effect at *Dysk.* 947.

μῆτερ: before this, a possible or likely dicolon (an initial paragraphos would not be visible?). It would be simplest to correlate this with παιδίον and τέκνον, which, since the Priestess needs to identify herself, must be terms of benevolence, not of family. Gow on Theoc. 15.60 found no example earlier of μῆτηρ as a term of respect; but see now *Dysk.* 495!

It would be easy to guess that the Child will indeed turn out to be the priestess' child; so that the terms of respect have a particular irony. Fr. 258 gives scene-setting anapaests, normally thought to be spoken by the priestess, and normally identified with the irregularly grouped verses which the scholia to Hephaestion found as the εἰςβολή of *Leukadia* (the beginning? or near the beginning?: [Longinus] 38.2 εὐθὺς ἐν τῇ εἰςβολῇ corresponds to §8 of the speech!). Was this soliloquy followed by the scene in our papyrus? If so, the structure shows a clear likeness with Euripides' *Ion*, both dramaturgically (the scenic solo, the sacred place, the fetching of water) and in plot (parent and child, one a new arrival, one serving the temple—*Leukadia* reversing the age-roles).

8 ], the top of an upright; in τιν, tau does not explain all the ink (a correction? or an exceptionally long descender from φ above?).

The letters could be articulated in more than one way. The text printed, ποῦ πέτρα 'ςτιν, assumes a reference to a particular rock. But, as Dr Rea points out, ], που (ποῦ, που?) πέτρας· τίν', εἰπέ μοι would be equally possible.

After μοι, dim traces before the papyrus breaks off. This is likely, from its position, to be the verse-end (only 5, as reconstructed, would be longer); I therefore incline to take the traces as a dicolon, although the lower point is higher in the line than elsewhere.

On the argument made above, this line should continue a question by the Child. If one rock is in question, and has been mentioned before, we have to account for the absence of article. One pattern would be ἡ τοῦ Φάωνος (but ]ς cannot be read); another, continuing the theme of 6–7, ἀφ' ἧς ὕδρευε]ι?

9 If a dicolon is rightly read at the end of 8, the surviving text, unless the answer was very brief, must belong to the Priestess' reply; a pity, since prima facie it would be tempting to take ἐνθαδί as answering ποῦ. But in any case I can do nothing with the letters. ], υνατους seems unavoidable (not απου); the first trace the top of an oblique that slopes down from left to right, rather close to the next letter, perhaps the upper right of an angular loop (i.e. ε θ ο ς; ρ), but α δ λ μ could not be excluded. –]ρυσιν, ] ῥύειν (direction),

] ῥύειν (water), πε]ρυεινά could be considered: but how to continue? Perhaps we should assume corruption: ἀ<ε>τούς or α<υ>τούς Austin.

10 ].[, if rightly seen, the top of a tall upright (so tall as to suggest φ or the like?). ].υ, apparently the underside of a small loop, with spots of ink from a descender to the left: i.e. ρ? ὑψηλήν (preceded by γά]ρ? Austin); ] υ[πε]ρυψηλήν not suggested, since the high trace suggests neither υ nor a diaeresis.

λέγεις shows that this is the Child speaking: a comment on the Priestess' description? or more likely a further question, 'You mean the very tall rock?'.

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#### 4025. MENANDER, *Misoumenos*?

A 9B4/3(1)1

3.5 × 3.7 cm

First century

A scrap (back blank) with parts of seven lines. The script, ornamented with hooks, serifs and half-serifs, has a gawky early-Roman look; α in the capital form. Compare *GMAW* 37 (assigned i BC/i AD) or XXXI 2555 (datable to the later i AD). No lectional signs.

What little can be seen of matter and metre would support an attribution to New Comedy; and in 2–4 may be recognised parts of three proper names, Krateia Demeas and Kleinias, which occur together in Menander's *Misoumenos*.

. . . . .	
] . . . [ . . . . ] . [	
] τειανέξαγ. [	Κρά] τειαν έξαγε[
]. κρυειδημ. [	δ] ακρύει Δημε[
] νουχιμικρακλ. [	] ν ούχι μικρα Κλε[ινι
5     ] . . . υτονταλ. [	
]. α. δευροθυγ[	
] . . . . [	
. . . . .	

1 ] . . . [, first perhaps foot of oblique descending from left to right, second foot of upright     2 . [, ε or θ     3 ], ink at line-level, perhaps foot of oblique descending from left to right     4 . [, ε or θ     5 ] . . . , second apparently cross-bar and lower curve of ε or θ, third foot of oblique descending from right to left, then top and foot of oblique descending from left to right     6 ], foot of oblique rising from left to right     7 ], right-hand end of high horizontal, lower part of upright below, more ink at line-level to left     α . , point high in line, hole below

2 Κρά] τειαν. *ετρα]τείαν* would have attractions, since *έξάγειν* occurs often in military contexts (cf. fr. 555.2). The case for Krateia is the coincidence of names in 3 and 4; 6 *θυγ*[ gives some support (she is Demeas' daughter).

5 ]. *έαυτόν* looks likely (of α the left foot and parts of the right-hand oblique, λ also possible), or perhaps ] *εαυτόν*: the first trace consists of scattered ink, some below the line, which might form parts of



a circle, but I am not certain that  $\epsilon$  would account for all of it. I have tried other possible readings and divisions ( $-\epsilon$  αὐτόν with elision, λυτον,  $-\nu$  τόν), but without finding anything more plausible.

In ταλ[, the trace might represent  $\alpha$  or  $\lambda$  (not ταμ[). If (c)εαυτόν is right, we can exclude e.g. parts of ταλαίπωρος and τάλαντον; τᾶλλ[α could be considered, or a part of τάλας.

Dr Austin notes a possible overlap of 5–6 with *Misoum.* 354–5, lines poorly preserved in XXXIII 2656 (latest text, *CGFPR* 151): there it might be possible to read the end of 354 as ον (rather than ο, ο) ταλ, δ[, the end of 355 as ]ο [θν]γατριον. To confirm the placing, 2–4 should be identifiable in 351–3; but the degraded remains in 2656 are indecisive (I am grateful to Dr Coles for his advice).

Even if the placing is right, the problem of reconstructing 5 remains: assuming (c)εαυτόν, what can be made of ταλ, δ[?

6 ] . α . : the first may be  $\tau$ , with the rightward extension of the cross-bar lost in damage (then a trace at line-level to the left belongs to the preceding letter) or possibly  $\pi$ , a trace of the left-hand upright, the cross-bar projecting beyond the right-hand cross-bar. After  $\alpha$ , the high trace, if not delusory, might be taken as the top of a narrow letter, i.e.  $\iota$  ( $-\tau\alpha\iota$ ,  $\pi\alpha\iota$ ); better as a stop, i.e. high point or the upper part of a dicolon. Both metrical schemes outlined below require a short syllable here, which would exclude  $\alpha\iota$ . In that case, δεῦρο must begin a new clause, or a new speech, as imperative rather than simple adverb (cf. *Sik.* 146); which in turn might recommend the vocative θύγ[ατερ or θυγ[άτριον (cf. *Misoum.* 355, see above on 5).

2–7 If (c)εαυτόν ταλ, [ is right in 5, and assuming that these lines are trimeters (but they may not be), we would consider two possible arrangements:

- (i) line-beginnings
- |   |   |           |        |
|---|---|-----------|--------|
| x | ⊔ | Κρά       | ]τειαν |
| x | ⊔ | δ]        | ακρύει |
| x | ⊔ | ν         | οὐχί   |
| x | ⊔ | (c)εαυτόν |        |
| x | ⊔ | α         | δεῦρο  |

- (ii) line-ends

Κρά]τειαν ἐξάγε[ιν  
 δ]ακρύει Δημέ[ας  
 οὐχὶ μικρά, Κλε[ωνία  
 (c)εαυτόν ταλ, [  
 δεῦρο θυγ[ατέρα

P. J. PARSONS

#### 4026. MENANDER (?), PROGAMON

38 3B.82/E(1)a

6.5 × 10.5 cm

Third century

A scrap of thick, coarse papyrus. On one side, along the fibres, a few line-ends in a good practised cursive, perhaps from a land-register; line 1 mentions ἐπηντ(λημένη). On the other side, and upside-down, stands the title of a literary work, written across the fibres; the script, a not very well executed example of the Severe Style, could be assigned to the third century. The top edge is so straight that it may be original; the papyrus is broken on the other three sides. To the right, the vertical fibres have been stripped, except for one narrow, isolated patch about 2.5 cm from the top.

In principle, the piece may be (i) a *sillybos* or (ii) a colophon or (iii) an independent writing-exercise. In favour of (iii) we could point to the reused papyrus (assuming this side to be the verso), and to the misspelling ῆ; but the nature of the text tells against it. As to (i), the other examples (see Turner, *GMAW* nos. 6–8; Dorandi, *SC* 8 (1984) 185 ff.) are narrower (lesser dimension 2–3.5 cm), and most, though not

PAnt I 21, have their inscription written parallel to the greater dimension; **4026**, as it survives, carries writing parallel with the narrower edge, with a blank of at least 5.5 cm above. That leaves (ii): the text was copied on the back of the land-register, and this colophon was added to the right of the last column; the author's name may have followed further down. But an apparent trace of writing above, to the extreme right, remains unexplained (4 note).

The format certainly suggests a pair of alternative titles, even though the scribe failed to centre the linking  $\eta$ , and wrote a rough breathing on it. Lucian's *᾽Ονειρος ἡ Ἀλεκτρυών* provides a parallel; but I have not found a placing in this genre. Comedy would be the most obvious source (for alternative titles see Gomme & Sandbach, *Menander* 129 f.). To judge from the lists in Kock, Koerte's *Menander* and Austin's *CGFPR*, the possible authors are not many. Diocles wrote an *᾽Ονειροι* (Test. 1 K.-A.), Menander a *Προγαμῶν* (Koerte II p. 128, who refers to a comedy of the same name by an unknown author, IG II<sup>2</sup> 2323.136). No doubt Menander is the best bet.

The meaning of Menander's title has been disputed. '*προγαμεῖν* significat concubitum ante nuptias exercere', says Koerte. The alternative title provided by **4026** suggests that the marriage was anticipated, carnally or not, in a prophetic dream.

	]		[
	]		[
	]	..	[
	]		[ ] . [
5	]		[
	]		[
	]		[
	]	ονειρος	[
	]	ἡ	[
10	]	προγαμων	[
	]		[
	]		[
	]		[
	.	.	.

3 ..[, shadowy traces, perhaps just stray ink.

4 ].[, clear traces, on the isolated patch of vertical fibres: an upright with a high horizontal joining from the left just below the top. The ink is quite thick: this might be the same pen as in the main text.

## IV. AESCHINES

The following twenty-nine items represent all the remaining unpublished papyri of Aeschines that have been identified among the Society's papyri from Oxyrhynchus. They have been collated principally with the most recent edition, the revised 1978 Teubner text of Blass-Schindel. Among other editions use has been made particularly of the Budé text (3rd edition, 1962) and of Schultz' edition (1865).

These papyri nearly treble the total of known papyri of Aeschines. To those listed in the introduction to the 1978 Teubner edition may be added P. Oxy. Hels. 1, P. Köln VI 254 and P. Duke inv. G44 (ed. W. H. Wills, *GRBM* 10 (1984) 311-4). P. Colon. inv. 5927 (wrongly cited in the Teubner edition, pp. xxi and xlv) has been republished as P. Köln II 65. P. Mil. Vogl II 41 has been re-edited by J. Lenaerts, *Miscellanea Papyrologica* (= *Pap. Flor.* XIX) II 335-340. The Rainer papyrus ('P1' on p. xxi in the Teubner introd.) has been re-edited by U. Schindel, *ZPE* 46 (1982) 1-31.

It is very difficult to obtain precise and reliable information about mediaeval MS—readings from the *app. crit.* in either the Teubner or the Budé edition. The apparatus in Schultz' edition is much fuller. Just how much more extensive the mediaeval evidence is may readily be seen from the list of Aeschines MSS published by R. Roncali, *Ann. Fac. Lett. e Fil. Univ. Bari* 14 (1969) 381-390. We have tried to avoid citations of MS 'groups', given how frequently individual MSS within so-called 'groups' provide variant readings.

For convenience we append a conspectus of passages where our papyri exhibit readings different from the text as presented by Blass-Schindel. We add where we can details of the mediaeval MSS that support the papyrus reading or Blass-Schindel's text, as well as other variants that there may be in these passages. We also include selected indications of the readings adopted in various other editions.

### 4027. AESCHINES *In Tim.* 3

38 3B.84/H(3)b

10.2 × 6.5 cm

Second or third century

The papyrus preserves part of one column, broken above and below, which was perhaps the first column of the roll. Written along the fibres in a hand of severe style type. There are no accents or lectional signs. Iota adscript occurs in 10 but is not used in 8. Elision is regularly employed (before rough breathings in 7, 8 and 9). The back is blank.

The text is faulty; repeated *μὲν οὖν* (*τοῦ μὲν οὖν ὅλον*, 3 *init.*; *περὶ μὲν οὖν τούτων*, 3 *ad fin.*) has led the papyrus copyist to jump back to the former, so that from the end of line 6 the papyrus will represent a repetition (only lines 11-12 are actually dupli-

Ref.	Papyrus text	Pap. ref.	Supporting evidence: MSS med. [& modern editors]	Text in Blass/Schindel	MSS med. that supply this reading. Other edd. who follow	Variant readings of other MSS med. and/or followed by other edd.
I 38.16	διδ[α]κε[ε] [w]υμα[ε] [c]	4029 R i 2-3	f Abb d Barb h q r	om. ὕμᾱς	Budé, Schultz	
I 38.16-17	[ουτω γαρ αι] <χ[ρ]ω<	4029 R i 5-6	f Abb d Barb h pr. q Budé	εἰ ἀνδρῶς οὕτω	Schultz	
I 38.18-19	ὡ[ε] αυτο]ς βουλεται ε[ι]πειν	4029 R i 11-12		εἰπεῖν ὡς αὐτὸς βούλεται	Schultz, Budé	
I 39.21	γαρ	4029 R i 18		δέ	Schultz, Budé	om.
I 39.22	Τιμαρχω	4029 R i 22	f Abb d Barb t	Τιμάρχω τουτωί	Schultz, Budé	
I 39.22	ουτος πᾶι[ε]	4029 R i 23		παῖς	Schultz, Budé	
I 39.24	[ακυρα]	4029 R i 27	Schultz, Budé	om.	V, P	
I 39.24	και	4029 R i 29	Franke, Schultz	ῆ	f Abb d Barb h o p Budé	
I 39.1-2	προθεσμία τ[ο]ιαντ[η]	4029 R i 31-2		τοιαύτη γέγονε προθεσμία	Schultz, Budé	
I 39.4	γεγονε					
I 39.4	εἶωγε	4029 R ii 3-4	Schultz, Budé	ἐγώ τε	Emperius	
I 39.5	αξί[ω] <ω< [επ αυ]τ[ο]ις	4029 R ii 67	ἀξιῶ ἐπ' αὐτοῖς Barb.	ἐπ' αὐτοῖς ἀξιῶ	Schultz, Budé	
I 40.7	ἐκαθίζετο οἱ ἐκαθέζετο?	4029 R ii 11-12		ἐκάθητο	Schultz (ἐκάθητ')	
I 40.9	ε[αυτον]	4029 R ii 17-18	Schultz	αὐτόν	Budé a, b	ο ι
I 40.9-10	om.	4029 R ii 19		ὡς αὐτὸ τοῖνον εἰδείξεν		
I 40.12	[τω σωματ]ι τω	4029 R ii 26-7		τῷ σώματι <τῷ> Τιμάρχου	Schultz, Budé	Schultz, Budé
I 40.13	Τει[μαρχο]υ μηδείς	4029 R ii 29		μή με τις	Schultz	V
I 40.13-14	απα[ν]τα ακ[ρι]βολογουμει	4029 R ii 30-1		λίαν ἅπαντ' ἀκριβολογοῦμαι	V, p Budé	d f h p q Barb Abb Budé f Barb t Abb q Franke Schultz
I 40.16	ο μεν απαγορεύει	4029 V i 1-2		ὁ ἀπαγορεύει	Schultz, Budé	
I 40.17	μ[η]δημγορειν	4029 V i 3-4	Schultz	μηδὲ δημγορεῖν	p Reiske, Budé	
I 41.18	[Μισγολ]α[ε] <ε[ε]τι	4029 V i 7	[P. Duk. inv. G 44-2] Athen. <i>Deipn.</i> 339 b	Μισγολας ἔστι τις	Budé Schultz	h q Weidner Barb Abb
I 41.19	Κο[λυ]ττε[υ]ε	4029 V i 9-10	P. Duk. inv. G 44-4 Athen. <i>Deipn.</i> 339 b	Κολλυτεύς	Schultz Budé	



I 41.21	om.	4029 V i 17	δέι τινα	P. Duk. inv. G 44.10 Schultz Budé Athen. <i>Deipn.</i> 339c Budé Schultz Budé Schultz Budé	Barb. d f h q Abb, Weidner Franke, Schultz g h
I 41.22	π[ε]ρι α[υτον]ειωθω[ε ε]χ[ειν]	4029 V i 17-18	είωθώς ἔχειν περὶ αὐτόν		
I 42.8	[ου]τος	4029 V ii 5	οὗτος		
I 42.10	[α]υτον	4029 V ii 10	αὐτῷ		
I 42.18	ου]τε πα[ρ επιτροπω	4029 V ii 31-2	[οὔτε παρ' ἐπιτρόπῳ]		οὔτε παρεπιτρόπῳ οὐτ' ἐπιτρόπῳ
I 42.20	αυτος [ω]ρα[ι]ος	4029 V ii 35-6	om. αὐτός	Schultz Budé	f o V Laur Abb H. Wolf, Fr., Bens., Budé
I 44.11	οἱ εἰγω	4030 i 8	om. ἐγώ	d f q t Abb. Barb. Weidner, Budé Schultz, Budé, Baiter-Sauppe, Franke, Bekker Barb. Schultz, Budé Schultz, Budé Schultz, Budé Schultz, Budé Schultz, Budé	
I 44.12	οι?	4030 i 9?	ᾧ		
I 44.12	oco]ε εγνωσκον?	4030 i 10?	ᾧ om.		
I 44.13 14	γεγονε μοι	4030 i 12	μοι γέγονεν	Schultz, Budé	
I 44.18	ποιει]θαι[τας αποδείξει	4030 i 20-21	τὰς ἀποδείξει ποιεῖσθαι	Schultz, Budé	
I 45.21	και περι	4030 i 27	καίπερ	Schultz, Budé	
I 45.22	π]ραγματος ον[τος c. 5	4030 i 28-9	τοῦ πράγματος	Schultz, Budé	q, t d f h Barb Abb
I 45.24	ως εγω (?)	4030 i 33	ὥς γ' (conjecture)		
I 45.2	υμιν μ[εν	4030 ii 8	ὑμῖν τε	d, f, Abb.	Budé
I 45.3	α]κο[νον]ει	4030 ii 8-9	ἀκούει	f, Barb, Abb, Laur	p Reiske, Fr., Brem., Schultz, Budé
I 45.3	ακι[νον]να δε	4030 ii 9-10	ἀκίνδυνά τε		
I 46.9	δρ[αχ]μας μ[αλλον (?)	4030 ii 22	μᾶλλον δράχμας	a b g l m, Budé Schultz, Budé	Laur
I 46.11	ουτως	4030 ii 28	οὕτω		
I 47.17	εσται αυτω	4030 iii 5	ἔσται αὐτῷ	d f h Barb, Abb.	q Fr., Schultz. d f h Laur Barb Abb x
I 47.1	εξεργαζεθαι	4030 iii 11-12	[ἐξεργάζεσθαι]		q
I 47.1	εγχερων	4030 iii 12	ἐπιχειρῶν	Schultz, Budé	Fr., Schultz. d f h Laur Barb Abb x
I 47.1	γ]α[ρ] εμε (?)	4030 iii 13	γάρ με		q
I 48.6	[απα]ντας	4030 iii 21	ἅπαντάς γε	Franke, Schultz	



Ref.	Papyrus text	Pap. ref.	Supporting evidence: MSS med. [& modern editors]	Text in Blass/Schindel	MSS med. that supply this reading. Other edd. who follow	Variant readings of other MSS med. and/or followed by other edd.
I 48.8 I 48.9	παρεσκευασα τουτ[ωι αυτος εαυτω (?)	<b>4030</b> iii 26 <b>4030</b> iii 27	d f h q Barb Abb d f h p q Barb Abb Weidner	τούτω παρεσκεύασα αὐτός οὗτος ἑαυτῷ	Budé, Schultz Budé, Schultz	[τούτω]παρεσκεύασα αὐτός Weidner t
I 49.14 I 49.15-16 I 49.17	αλλ[ηλων [προφε]ρεις κ[αι δ[οκουειν ειναι οτ δ[οκουντες ειναι	<b>4030</b> iv 2 <b>4030</b> iv 5 <b>4030</b> iv 9-10	Schultz Schultz, Budé d h q T Barb Abb.	τῶν ἄλλων προφερεῖς δέ om.	q t, Budé a, b Franke Schultz, Budé Schultz, Budé a b g l m Schultz, Budé Schultz, Budé Schultz, Budé Schultz (ἄμα δ' ἤδη) Budé a b g l m Schultz, Budé Schultz, Budé	φάινονται g l m o p r V Laur
I 49.1 I 49.2	τεσσαρακοστο[ν] δη	<b>4030</b> iv 16 <b>4030</b> iv 19	b d f h q Barb Abb	τεσσαρακοστόν οὖν	Schultz, Budé Schultz, Budé a b g l m Schultz, Budé	om. Weidner
I 49.3 I 49.6 I 49.6-7	ι[δον[τ]ες αυτο[ν] ε[ι][ς]τιν η φ[υει]ς αμα] δε και	<b>4030</b> iv 21 <b>4030</b> iv 27 <b>4030</b> iv 28-9	d f h q Barb Abb	αὐτὸν ἰδόντες ἡ φύς ἐστὶ ἄμα δὲ ἤδη	Schultz, Budé Schultz, Budé Schultz (ἄμα δ' ἤδη) Budé	ἔστιν del. Weidner
I 50.8	καλει μοι[ς] πρ[ω]τον μ[ε]ν	<b>4030</b> iv 31-2	d f h q Barb	πρῶτον μὲν καλεῖ μοι	Schultz, Budé	
I 52.8	[[και γ A[ν]δροκλε[ι]δην]]	<b>4030</b> v 30-1, deleted <b>4030</b> v 31	Budé	[καὶ ἐπιδείξω]αὐτοῦς <δὲ> λέγων	Schultz, Budé	ἀλλ' ἐπιδείξω αὐτοῦς λέγων Schultz
I 52.8-9	om.					
I 52.9 I 79.7	ου μονον ε[ι]μοι πα[ρεστη]κω[ς]	<b>4030</b> v 33 <b>4031</b> 1-2	Abb h f d Barb t Laur I (g) Franke, Schultz	μὴ μόνον [παρεστηκὼς ἐμοί] <i>secl.</i> Τίμαρχος	Schultz, Budé f Abb d Barb Laur I(g) o=r Budé	καὶ μὴ μόνον παρεστηκὼς ἐμοί ἐμοὶ προεστηκὼς MSS, unspecified Budé q
I 79.9	Τιμαρχον	<b>4031</b> 7				
I 131.18	[περιενεγ]κειν?	<b>4032</b> i 5		περιενέγκας	Budé	
I 190.17	γενεθ[αι] m. 1 γγγενεθ[αι] m. 2	<b>4033</b> 3		γίνεσθαι	Budé, Schultz	γίνεσθαι
I 191.21 (twice) 22	τουτο m. 1 ταυτα m. 2	<b>4033</b> 9, 10, 12, [13?]		ταῦτα ... ταὐτ' ... ταῦτα ... ταῦτα	Budé Sim. Schultz	
I 191.21 (twice?) I 191.21	ληστηρι]a m. 1 ληστηρι]ον]] m. 2, cancelled	<b>4033</b> 9-10		ληστήρια	Budé, Schultz	

I 191.1	τοῖς om. m. 1; add. m. 2	4033 16	om. Abb.	τοῖς included	Budé, Schultz [P. Hal. 6] a b g m p Vat, Laur	
I 192.7	ἐν[δε ev?]	4033 29	f h q	εὖ δ'	Budé, Schultz b f g h l q Abb a <sup>2</sup>	
I 194.5	Om. τοῖς before [τοιούτοις]? See note <i>ad loc.</i>	4034 [3]	a <sup>1</sup> d m V Laur Barb	τοῖς τοιούτοις	Budé, Schultz p h Laur	P. Hal 6 (with other differences)
I 195.7-8	πρὶν τ[ην] [cunghorían]	4034 8-9	P. Hal. 6 d f Barb Abb Budé	πρὶν τῆς cunghoríac	τοιούτοις πρὶν cunghoríac πρὶν γε cunghoríac	p h Laur
II 43.9	[τινα] incl. for reasons of space	[4035 i 3]	d f Barb h q l s Fl Laur I LAcq 50 Reiske, Brémi, Bekker, Dindorf	τινα om.	Laur k Budé Schultz	
II 44.23	αφορμας εὐληφοτές	4035 ii 8	i	εὐληφότες ἀφορμάς	Fl Laur (εὐλοφοτέε!)	
II 44.24	καὶ τα ἀντιλε[γ]όμενα	4035 ii 10-11	Fl Laur Laur I LAcq 50	καὶ τὰντιλεγόμενα	Laur I LAcq 50 Budé s Schultz	Budé τὰντιλεγόμενα om. καί Several other variants, see Schultz
II 64.8	υπ[ε]ραντιο[ν]	4036 3	Fl Laur Laur I LAcq 50 Franke Schultz Budé	ὑπεραντία	B/S conj.; no MS. support?	e l
II 65.10	ἀναγνώθ[ι δε?] (or τε)	4036 5		καὶ ἀνάγνωθι	Fl Laur Laur I LAcq 50 No variant MS. recorded	
II 134.8	[επισ]τολή[μαρ]τυρία	4037 3-4		μαρτυρία ἐπιστολή	Budé, Schultz Laur (μ. added i, m, p) Budé, Schultz	v a d e f k l Barb Flor added V <sup>2</sup> Fl Laur I LAcq 50
II 135.9-10	[παραναγ]εινωσκομέ[νων]	4037 7-8		παραναγινωσκομένων	om. παραναγινωσκομένων	e q Fl LAcq 50
II 135.11	προς[δι]αμαρτυρησαν[των]	4037 11-12	Fl Laur Laur I LAcq 50 Franke Schultz	προδιαμαρτυρούντων διαμαρτυρησάντων	conj. Hamaker Budé	e l s

Ref.	Papyrus text	Pap. ref.	Supporting evidence: MSS med. [ & modern editors]	Text in Blass/Schindel	MSS med. that supply this reading. Other edd. who follow	Variant readings of other MSS med. and/or followed by other edd.
II 171.11	[και ωπη]ρ[ω]ν τη π[ολει]?	<b>4038</b> 1?		και τη πόλει ωπηρών	i Cobet, Budé	τῇ πόλει
II 172.13	ε[υδόξηε]ν	<b>4038</b> 7-8	Fl Laur	ευδόξηε	Laur I LAcq 50 Budé Schultz	k Fl Laur Laur I LAcq 50 Schultz
II 172.14	και μετα	<b>4038</b> 8		μετά	Budé, Schultz	
II 172.15-16	ει[ρη]νης ὑπαρχουης	<b>4038</b> 12-13	Laur I	εἰρήνης δ' ὑπαρχούης	Fl Laur LAcq 50 Budé, Schultz	
II 172.17	ὑμειν	<b>4038</b> 15	(ὑμῶν) a g f V Laur	ἡμῶν	k Budé, Schultz	
III 6.14	[οσαν?]	<b>4039</b> [8]	a g m n Franke, Schultz, Budé	ἄν	e k l Weidner	
III 7.17	μηθεν	<b>4039</b> 14		μηδέν	Schultz, Budé	c, d
III 7.17	με[ικρον ηρεις]θαι	<b>4039</b> 14-15	Reiske, Franke, Benseler	ἡγείσθαι μικρόν	e k l g p Flor V <sup>2</sup> Schultz, Bekker, Brémi, Dindorf, Budé, Baiter- Sauppe Reiske, Weidner, Budé	a m n V <sup>1</sup>
III 7.19	om. εἶν	<b>4039</b> 19	Schultz	<εἶν>		
III 8.12	τοι υμετε[ρωι συμφερο]ντι	<b>4040</b> 9-10	e k l Weidner	τῷ συμφέροντι τῷ ὑμετέρῳ	Schultz, Budé	
III 15.20	om. κελεύει	<b>4041</b> (a) i 2	conj. Franke (1859); foll. by Schultz, Weidner	κελεύει	<b>1625</b> Laur 57.45, 60.4, Acq. 50	
III 16.8	[oco]ν?	<b>4041</b> (a) i 30		ὅσα	Budé	a m n Vat
III 16.9-10	om. ὧ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι	<b>4041</b> (a) ii [4]	Plin., Alex., Stob.	ὧ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι	Budé, Schultz k	Laur. 57.45, 60.4, LAcq. 50 Schultz
III 22.18	[ουτ ελαβον τ]ων	<b>4041</b> (b) i 3		ὅτι οὐτ' ἔλαβον οὐδὲν τῶν	Budé	Stephanus
III 22.19	[ανυπευθυ]νον?	<b>4041</b> (b) i [6]	<b>1625</b> e k l Phot. (Reitzenst. 151.16)	ἀνέχονον	Budé, Schultz Laur 60.4 Laur Acq. 50 Schultz	Laur. 57.45
III 23.7	ε[κ της πολε]ως	<b>4041</b> (b) ii 10-11	Budé <b>1625</b> Budé Franke Schultz	om. ἐκ		e, l Bekker Weidner
III 33.19-20	om. ὑπὸ τοῦ δῆμου?	<b>4042</b> i [3]		ὑπὸ τοῦ δήμου	Budé Schultz	
III 39.17	αναγεγραφοτας?	<b>4043</b> [2]	Schultz, Budé	ἀναγράφοντας (ση).		
III 39.17	πρ[οθε]	<b>4043</b> 3	k	πρόσθεν	Schultz, Budé	ε

III 39.19	νόμος[θετας?]	4043 [6]	Schöll, Budé	νομοθέτας [conj. Dobree]	Baiter, Sauppe, Franke, Bensele, Schultz	
III 39.20	τω]δημω	4043 9	Schultz, Budé	[τῷ δήμῳ] ( <i>del.</i> Schöll)		
III 57.9–10	τοῖς δικασταῖς	4044 i 10	Schultz, Budé	[τοῖς δικασταῖς]	τοὺς δικαστάς	Barb.
III 57.16	καιροῦ apparently om.	4045 i [1]		καιροῦ		
III 58.22	ει τιν]ες εἰσαν υ]μας	4045 i 16–17		εἴ τινες ὑμᾶς εἴσαν	οἵτινες ἡμᾶς εἴσαν	k, l
III 58.2–3	Φιλ[π]πον· και α[.....]ῖτους μετα[χχειν Ελλη]νικου συ[εδρι]ου [και Φιλ[ιππο]ν· και μετ[αχχειν Ελ]ληνικῶν [κυνεδριου και]?	4045 i 22–5		Φίλιππον,   μεταχχεῖν Ἑλληνικοῦ κυνεδρίου,   καί	Φίλιππον μεταχχεῖν Ἑλληνικοῦ κυνεδρίου καί	'libri'
III 58.6	Φιλοκρατη	4045 i 31		Φιλοκράτην		Budé, Schultz
III 58.7	[κυσαντ]ες	4045 i 34		κυσανττες ἐπὶ τὸ δημόσιον		
III 59.8–9	....] ν...ασις[τοτερος ....].	4045 i 36–7		τὸ ὑμέτερον ἀπιστότερος	ἄπιστος	e k l
III 59.9	τοιούτος apparently om.	4045 i [38]		τοιούτος		
III 81.8	κυνεβη δ ἐν	4046 recto 2		κυνεβη τε ἐν	κυνεβη ἐν	Schultz
III 88.13–14	]η πολις·	4055 b 2		ἡ πόλις αἰχχιστα παθεῖν·		
III 88.14–15	[πολεμον]εστι	4055 b 4–5		πόλεμον μέγιστόν ἐστι κακόν	πολεμόν ἐστι μέγιστον πολεμόν ἐστιν πόλεμον	e k l
III 89.19	-μης]παρ υ]μων	4055 c 1	e k l Weidner	παρ' ὑμῶν συγγνώμης	παρ' ὑμῶν συγγνώμην	q
III 89.1	κυναγαγ[ων	4055 c 8	e k l	κυνάγων		
III 89.2	πα[ρα]κεευάζων	4055 c 10–11	Budé, Schultz	κατασκευάζων		
III 90.7	εγκαταλ]ιπων?	4055 d 25	Budé	καταλιπών		
III 90.7–8	πλε[ιους τροπας]	4055 d 26–7	No MSS? but cf. literary parallels cited by Blass- Schindel	τροπάς postponed		
III 90.8	τρεπομε[νος	4055 d 27–8	<sup>a</sup> τρεπόμενος h Cf. Dio Cass. cited by Blass-Schindel	τραπόμενος	ετρεπόμενος τραπόμενον τρεπόμενος	e k l p Barb. m g q
III 91.3	γρα[ψαντι?	4055 e 4–5	Budé	γράφοντι		
III 98.18	[γραφψαντι]?	4046 verso 5–6		διχυλίους		
	διχυριους	4047 4	k l	δὲ ἐτέρους		
III 98.19	δ ετε[ρ]ους	4047 6	Blass-Schindel in <i>app. crit.</i> Schultz			

Ref.	Papyrus text	Pap. ref.	Supporting evidence: MSS med. [& modern editors]	Text in Blass/Schindell	MSS med. that supply this reading. Other edd. who follow	Variant readings of other MSS med. and/or followed by other edd.
III 101.10	αρ[ετα	4048 4	Schultz, Budé	τὰ ἄριστα	Budé	Schultz
III 101.10	δη]μωι των	4048 5		δήμω τῶ	Weidner	
III 110.20	εθ]νος η] δυνας[τ]ης [η ιδιωτης?	4049 → 1		ιδιώτης ἡ ἔθνος	Schultz, Budé	
III 113.19-20	ταυτης της μαντεας γ[ενομενης κ]αι της αρac και των ορκ]ων	4049 → 19-20		ταυτης της ἀράς καὶ τῶν ὄρκων καὶ τῆς μαντείας [γενομένης]		e k Laur Laur I Schultz
III 114.8	υ]περ του	4049 ↓ 9	a g m n Laur Laur I Flor c d f Schultz	τοῦ	e h k l Budé	a g m n Flor l, Budé
III 114.12-13	βοηθειν	4049 ↓ 15		βοηθῆσει	c d Laur I	k (acc. Budé) Flor Laur Schultz, Budé & others Weidner
III 114.15	α]νδρος η] ιδωστ[ο]υ	4049 ↓ 19	p Bekker	ἡ ἀνδρὸς ιδιώτου	e h k l (acc. to Schultz) Budé	a g m n Flor, Laur Laur I f, d, Baiter-Sauppe, Schultz, Franke
III 158.21	γαρ πολυς	4050 6	e h k l Bekker, Brémi, Dindorf	πόλυς γάρ	Schultz, Budé	k (acc. to Budé, Blass- Schindell)
III 161.9	ημε[τε]ραν	4051 5-6	e g h k l z Fl Weidner	ὑμετέραν	Laur. Schultz Budé	e h l (acc. to Blass- Schindell)
III 161.9-10	π]αροξυνθηγτος το πρωτου	4051 8-9		τὸ πρῶτον παροξυνθέντος	Fl., Laur. Budé, Schultz	
III 195.24	εγκατελ]θοντων[αυτω απ]ο φυλης	4052 2-3	k Frankc, Schultz	ἀπὸ φυλῆς αὐτῷ εγκατελθόντων	e h l Budé	ἀπὸ Φ. a. del. Weidner Whole phrase del. Cobet d, f, q
III 195.2	υπε]λογιζοντο	4052 6	P. Hamb. 165; c, Barb.	ὑπελογίζαντο	Budé k (ὑπελογίζανθ' Schultz)	
III 195.3	Θρ]ακυβουλος α[πο φυλης	4052 9-10		[ἀπὸ φυλῆς] Θρακύβουλος	Blass-Schindell (foll. Dobree)	P. Hamb. 165; Schultz ἀπὸ Φ. Θ. del. Dobree, Weidner 1878 ἀπὸ Φ. del. Budé



III 195.4-5	γραφων τι (corr. to γραφοντα τι) παρα [του]ς νομους	4052 12-13	as corr.: P. Hamb. 165 e h k l Bekker, Dindorf	παρα τους νόμους γράφοντά τι	Schultz, Budé	τους παράνομον γράφοντας τι	p phrase del. (Dobr.) Weidner
III 213.15	διαγιγνώσκειν	4053 i 1		διαγιγνώσκειν	Budé Schultz	ἐπιγιγνώσκειν	h
III 213.17	κατα την	4053 i 6	e h k Schultz	om. κατά	Budé	om. κατὰ τήν	c d Laur I
III 213.18-19	α[ψ]ευδεις	4053 i 8-9		οὐ ψευδεῖς	Budé Schultz		
III 214.21	φανησεται	4053 i 13		εἶναι	Budé Schultz		
III 216.13	να]δε μηδ[εις	4053 ii 9-10		ἵνα μηδέις	Budé Schultz		
III 216.14	κα]ταλειπηται	4054 1		παραλείπηται	k Budé Schultz	παραλείπηται	f <sup>2</sup> (acc. to B/S) a c d f g h m n Flor. corr. z
III 224.c.12-13	κε[	4055 j 2		(Letters κε not present in B/S at this point)			
III 225.16	om. ἀγενήτοις?	4055 j [10]		ἀγενήτοις	Schultz, Budé		
III 242.19	[ποιηται?]	4055 o [3]	Budé Schultz	ποιήση			
III 242.3	φ]ησει[ς] μη δυνα[ς]εται	4055 p 2-3		οὐ φήσεις δύνασθαι	Schultz, Budé		
III 242.4	ειτα	4055 p 3		ἔπειτα	Schultz, Budé		
III 252.21	[αι ψη]φοι αυτω[ι	4055 t 1-2	Schultz, Budé Harpocr. Suid.	[αἱ ψῆφοι αὐτῶ ]		αὐτῶ αἱ ψῆφοι	e h k l
III 252.1	[μονον?]	4055 t [3]	Schultz	ψῆφος	Harpocr. Suid. Weidner Budé	deleted	Weidner
III 252.1	και απεθ[ανεν	4055 t 5	Harpocr. Suid. Phot.	[ἡ ἀπέθανεν]		ἡ ἀπέθανεν om.	Budé Schultz Weidner

cated on the papyrus as it stands, repeating lines 1–2). There is a subtle change in the script after line 6, suggesting an interval in the copying. See also 13 n.

The column width of 8 cm is wider than is often found for oratorical texts, see E. G. Turner, *GMAW*<sup>2</sup> p. 7. The text lost before the fragment would occupy approximately 31 lines, which would give a column height of at least 44 lines.

. . . . .  
 χρω[ς] β[εβιωκοτι μη δημηγο]  
 ρειν επι[ταγμα ως γε δη εγω κρι]  
 νω ου χαλ[επον επιταξαντες αλ]  
 λα και π[ανν ραιδιον εμε δ ε]  
 5 ξην αυ[τωι ει εσωφ]ρ[ο]ν[ει]  
 μη κυκο[φαντειν περι μ]εν ουν ολου {α}  
 αγωνος φα[νη]σεται ουθ η πολις  
 αιτια ουσα Τιμαρχω ουθ οι νο[μοι]  
 ουθ υμεις ο[υτ] εγω αλλ αυτο[ς ου]  
 10 τος αυτωι οι [μεν] γαρ νομ[οι]  
 προειπο[ν αυτωι αις]χ[ρ]ως [βεβι]  
 ωκοτι [ c. 15 letters ]  
 [ . . . ] . . . . . [

10 αυτωι pap.; αὐτῷ a b t Laur; αὐτῷ f o p q Vat; ἐαυτῷ omnes edd.

13 A further error appears to have been introduced here, cf. introd. The traces seemingly read [ . . . ] τὸν ὅλον, which accords neither with the anticipated repeated text nor with what the copyist should have written all along. Because of this, we refrain from supplementing line 12.

LUCIANA SABINI

#### 4028. AESCHINES *In Tim.* 14–15, 17–18

100/73(a)

4.4 × 8.4 cm

Second century

The fragment comes from a roll and preserves parts of two columns with the intercolumnium and lower margin, in a semi-cursive hand. The back is blank.

Between the end of the first column and the top of the second column as preserved on the papyrus, most of sections 15–17 have been lost. We can calculate from the average line length that 24 lines (assuming omission of the text of the νόμοι) have been lost from the top of col. ii, giving a column of 35 lines. The height of the roll may be calculated as 23–24 cm, including 3 cm for the preserved lower margin and

allowing 2-2.5 cm for the lost upper margin. The column height was c. 18-19 cm, the width c. 7 cm, with an intercolumnium of roughly 1.5 cm. We may further calculate that the full text of the oration would have required approximately 90 columns which would have occupied a roll of c. 7.5 metres.

There are no accents. The scribe punctuated with a middle point (i 6, 9 and 10). Paragraphi occur below ii 2 and 11. Iota adscript occurs in i 6 and 9.

## Col. i

[ c. 14 letters ] . . [ c. 5 ]  
 [εθηκε φυλακα των υ]μετερω—  
 [παιδων τον της] προαγω  
 [γειας τα μεγας]τα επιτιμια  
 5 [ ελευθερ]ον παιδα  
 [η γυναικα προαγω]γευνη· και  
 [ποιον αλλον τον τ]ης υβρεως  
 [ος ενι κεφαλαιωι]παντα τα  
 [τοιαυτα συλλαβων] εχει· εν ωι  
 10 [διαρρηδην γεγρ]απται·  
 [εαν τις υβριζηι εις] παιδα

## Col. ii

ο[υκ επιτηδειον ηγησατο]  
 ε[ιναι συμπολιτευεσθαι]  
 κ[ακεινο δε μοι συνδι]  
 α[μνημονευσατε ω ανδρες Αθη]  
 5 να[ιοι οτι ενταυθ ο νομοθε]  
 τη[ς ουπω διαλεγεται αυτωι]  
 τω[ι σωματι του παιδος]  
 αλ[λα τοις περι τον παιδα]  
 πα[τρι αδελφωι επιτροπωι]  
 10 διδ[ασκαλοις και ολως τοις]  
 κυρ[ιοις επειδαν δ εγγραφηι]

## Col. i

5 If the line is restored on the basis of the transmitted text (*ἐπιγράψας, εἴαν τις ἐλεύθερον*), its length of 29 letters would seem too long compared with the 22 letters of the adjacent lines; we suspect therefore that something different and shorter may have been written.

6 The middle point signals the end of section 14. It is likely to have been combined with a paragraphus in the left margin, cf. col. ii.

8 πάντα Blass-Schindel, Budé; ἀπαντα a b l m o V Laur f Schultz, Franke. We print the Blass-Schindel text, although it is possible that the papyrus had α]παντα.

Col. ii

2 The paragraphus signals the break between sections 17–18; it was probably accompanied by a middle point, cf. i 6 n.

LUCIANA SABINI

**4029.** AESCHINES *In Tim.* 38–43

101/221(a)

Approx. 17.5 × 22 cm

Third century?

A much-damaged leaf of a papyrus codex, reassembled from sixteen fragments. There are two columns each side, with page numbers 13 (→) and 14 (↓) at the head (in a different hand). The text on the leaf is lacunose and presents numerous variants. From the page numbers we may calculate that no other work is likely to have preceded the *In Timarchum* in the codex, and that this speech would have occupied around 64 pages (= 16 double leaves). The margins are preserved in part (upper 2 cm, lower 3 cm, inner side margin 1 cm, outer 2–2.5 cm). The intercolumnium each side measures approximately 2 cm. Column areas are roughly 6 × 17 cm; there are 35 lines in the first column and 36 in each of the other three, with an average 13–15 letters per line (the outside limits are 11 and 19). The resulting leaf size of not less than 17.5 cm broad by 22 cm high (the margins may have been greater than what survives) would place it among the aberrants of Group 5 in E. G. Turner, *The Typology of the Early Codex* 18 and 24.

The script is a rather broad and heavy severe style, with (across the fibres) a notable contrast between thick and thin strokes. Along the fibres, this contrast is much less pronounced. There are no accents. There are occasional stops as punctuation, in at least one instance a later insertion. A paragraphus signals the start of §40. Diaeresis occurs twice. Elision is frequent but not universal, and *scriptio plena* is preferred at the ends of lines. Iota adscript does not occur. Three times a supralinear horizontal bar represents ν at the end of a line.

The format of two columns per page in a papyrus codex implies an attempt at a prestige production, see Turner *op. cit.* 35–7. This codicological level, however, is in contrast with the textual quality. The papyrus presents inversions, additions and omissions which are often unjustifiable and not all of which are represented in the mediaeval tradition. There are very many differences from the text in the Blass-Schindel edition, but a conjecture in that edition is confirmed (recto ii 26). In general, the papyrus does not coincide with any particular MS or group of MSS.

**4029** is the sole papyrus witness for §§38–40 and 42–3. is recorded in part also by P. Duk. inv. G 44 ed. W. H. Willis, *Studies presented to Sterling Dow* (= *GRBM* 10 (1984)) 311–4 with plate 21. The first part of §41 (here verso i 7–24) is also cited by

Athenaeus, *Deipn.* 339 b-c. At verso i 17-18 **4029** shares the word order of P. Duk. (lines 10-11), unique at the time of Willis' publication, and at verso i 7 it attests the wording cited by Athenaeus and proposed for P. Duk.

There is no evidence of any manufacturer's kollesis on the leaf.

Recto

Col. i

(m.2) [ι]γ

- (m.1) [μησαιτε ει] τι σαφως  
 ειπ[οιμι διδ]ακκε[ιν]  
 υμα[ς βουλομενος]  
 [αλ]λα π[ολυ μαλλον]  
 5 τ[ου]τω [ουτω γαρ αι]  
 σχ[ρ]ως [τυγχανει]  
 βεβιωκ[ως ωστε τον]  
 τα τουτω πεπρα  
 γμενα διεξιοντα  
 10 αδυνατον ειναι  
 ω[ς αυτο]ς βουλεται  
 ε[ιπειν ε]αν μη τι  
 [και των] τοιουτων  
 [φθεγξ]ηται ρημα  
 15 [των ευ]λαβησομαι  
 δ[ αυτο] ποιειν ως  
 α[ν δυν]ωμαι μα  
 λις τ[α σκεψ]ασθε γαρ  
 ω ανδρες Αθηναι  
 20 οι ως μετριως μελ  
 λω προσφερεσθαι  
 Τειμαρχω εγω γαρ  
 ο[ς]α μεν ουτος πα[ι]ς  
 [ω]ν εις το σωμα τ[ο]  
 25 [εα]υτου ημαρ[τηκεν]  
 [α]φιη[μι κ]αι [εστω]  
 [τα]υτα [ακυρα ωςπερ]  
 [τα ε]πι τω[ν τριακον]



- [τα] και τ[α προ Ευ]  
 30 [κλειδ]ου η [ει τις αλλη]  
 [πω]ποτ[ε προθεσμία]  
 τ[ο]ιαντ[η γεγονε α δ] η  
 δη φρ[ονων κ]αι  
 μειρακι[ον] ω[ν] και  
 35 τους νο[μο]υς [ε]πιςτ[α]

## Col. ii

- μενος τους της πο  
 [λε]ως διαπεπρακται.  
 περι τουτων εγω  
 γε τας κατηγοριας  
 5 ποιησομαι και ὑ  
 μας αξι[[ως]]ω [επ αυ]  
 τ[οις] π[ου]δαζ[ε]ιν  
 ου[το]ς [γ]αρ παν  
 τ[ων] με[ν] πρωτον  
 10 ε[πε]ιδη [α]π[α]λλα  
 [γ]η εκ π[αι]δων εκα  
 [. . .] ετ. [εν Π]ειραι  
 επι του [Ε]ϋθυδικου  
 [ι]ατριου προφασει  
 15 μεν [της] τεχνης  
 μ[αθητ]ης [τ]η δε  
 α[ληθεια] π[ω]λ[ειν] ε  
 [αυτον προη]ρημε  
 [νος οσοι μεν] ουν  
 20 [των εμπορω]ν η τω(ν) ε. . [  
 [αλλων ξενω]ν η  
 [των πολιτων των]  
 [ημετε]ρω[ν] κατ ε]  
 [κεινο]υς τους χρο  
 25 [νους εχ]ρησαντο  
 [τω σωματ]ι τω Τει

[μαρχο]ν ἐκων και  
 το[υτ]ους υπερβησο  
 μα[ι ι]να μηδεις ει  
 30 πη [ως α]ρα απα[ν]τα  
 ακ[ρι]βολογουμαι·  
 ων [δ ε]ν τ[αι]ς οικι  
 αις [γεγονε κ]αται  
 σχ[υνων το σωμ]α [τ]ο  
 35 εα[ντου και την π]ο  
 λιν [μισθαρνων ε]

Verso

Col. i

(m.2) ιδ

(m.1) π αυτω τουτω ο μεν  
 απαγορευει ο νο[μος]  
 μη πραττειν η μ[η]  
 δημηγορειν περ[ι]  
 5 τουτων ποιησο  
 [μαι τ]ους λογους  
 [Μιςγο]λα[ς ε]στι Ναυ  
 κρα[τους ω] αν[δρ]ες  
 Αθηναι[οι] Κο[λυ]τ  
 10 τε[υ]ς ανη[ρ] τα [μεν]  
 αλλα καλ[ος] καγ[αθος]  
 και ου[δα]μη αν  
 τις αυ[τον μ]εμψαι  
 το· περι δ[ε τ]ο πρα  
 15 γμα τουτ[ο] δαιμο  
 νιος [ε]σπο[υδακ]ω[ς]  
 και π[ε]ρι α[ντον] ει  
 ωθω[ς ε]χ[ειν κιθα]  
 [ρ]ωδο[υς η κιθαρι]  
 20 στας· τ[αυτι δε λεγω]  
 ου του [φορτικου]

- [ενεκα αλλ ινα γνω]  
 [ρισητε α]ν[τον ος]  
 [τις εστι]ν· ου[τος αι]  
 25a                      ων [ενεκα τας]  
 25    [ς]θόμενος δ[ιατρι]  
       βας εποιε[ιτο Τιμαρ]  
       χος ουτο[ςι επι του]  
       ιατρείου αργυ[ριον] τ[ι]  
       προαναλωσας α[ν]ξ  
 30    στ[η]σεν αυτον [κ]αι  
       εσχεν παρ εαυτω  
       ευσαρκ[ο]ν ον[τα]  
       και νεο[ν κ]αι [βδ]ε  
       λυρον [και επιτη]  
 35    δε[ιον προς το πρα]  
       γ[μα ο προηρει]

## Col. ii

- το εκε[ινος μεν πρ]α[τ]  
 [τε]ιν ο[υτος δε π]α  
 [σχειν και ταυτα] ουκ ω  
 [κνησεν αλ]λ υπ[ε]ς  
 5    [τη Τιμαρχ]ος [ου]τος  
       [ουδενο]ς ων τω(ν)  
       [μετριων] ενδεης·  
       [π]ολλην γαρ πανυ  
       κατελ[ι]πεν ο πατηρ  
 10    [α]υτου ουσι[α]ν η[ν ο]ν  
       τος κατεδηδ[οκε]ν ως  
       εγω προΐον[τος ε]πι  
       δειξω του λ[ογου αλ]  
       λ επραξεν [ταυτα]  
 15    δουλευων [ταις αιςχι]  
       σταις ηδο[ναις οψ]ο  
       φαγια[[ις]] και [πολυτ]ε      γλο[

- λια [[.....]] [...] δι ζ...  
 πνων και αυλητρισι(ν)  
 20 και ετ[[ε]]\αί' ρα<sup>ε</sup>ις και κυβοις  
 και τοις αλλοις ὑφ' ων  
 ουδενος χρη κρατει  
 [ς]θαι τον γενεον και  
 [ελ]ευθερον και ου[κ η]  
 25 [ς]χυν]θη ο μιαρ<sup>ο</sup>ς ο[υ]  
 [τος εκ]λιπ[ω]ν μεν  
 [την πατρω]α[ν] [ο]ι[κι]  
 [αν διαιτωμ]ενο[ς δε πα]  
 [ρα Μιςγολ]α ουτ[ε πατρι]  
 30 [κω οντι φι]λω [ουθ ηλι]  
 [κιωτη ου]τε πα[ρ επι]  
 [τροπω α]λλα π[αρ αλλο]  
 [τ]ρ[ι]ω [κα]ι π[ρεσβυτερω]  
 [ε]αυτο[υ] [κ]α[ι παρ] α[ο]λα  
 35 [ς]τω π[ερ]ι τ[αυ]τα αυτος  
 [ω]ρ[α]ι[ος] ω[ν] πο]λλα μεν

## Recto

Col. ii 12 l. Πειραιεῖ

14 l. ἱατρείου

20 τω<sup>-</sup>

26. l. Τιμάρχου

## Verso

 Col. ii 4 ὕ?  
 23 l. γενναῖον
6 τω<sup>-</sup>

17-18 l. πολυτελεία

18-19 l. δέειπνων

19 αυλητρισι<sup>-</sup>

## Recto, col. i

2-3 διδ]αξε[ιν] υμα[ς] with f Abb d Barb h q r; ὑμας om. Blass-Schindel, Budé, Schultz.

5-6 [ουτω γαρ αι]σχ[ρ]ως with f Abb d Barb h and pr. q, and Budé; εἰ αἰσχροῦς οὕτω Blass-Schindel, Schultz.

11-12 ω[ς αυτο]ς βουλεται ε[ιπειν. εἰπεῖν ὡς αὐτὸς βούλεται Blass-Schindel, Budé, Schultz.

18 γαρ. δέ Blass-Schindel, Budé, Schultz; om. Laur.

22 Τειμαρχω (l. Τιμάρχω) with f Abb d Barb t; Τιμάρχω τουτφί Blass-Schindel, Budé, Schultz.

23 ουτος παι[ς]. παῖς Blass-Schindel, Budé, Schultz.

27 ἄκυρα restored because of the space, with Budé and Schultz; om. Blass-Schindel with V, p.

29 καί Franke, Schultz; ἦ f Abb d Barb h o p Blass-Schindel, Budé.

31-2 προθεσμία] τ[ο]ιαντ[η] γεγ<sup>ο</sup>νε. τοιαύτη γέγονε προθεσμία Blass-Schindel, Budé, Schultz.

## Col. ii

3-4 ἔγωγε Budé, Schultz; ἐγώ τε Blass-Schindel with Emperius.

6-7 αξι[ω]ς]ω [επ αυ]τ[οις]. ἀξιῶ ἐπ' αὐτοῖς Barb. ἐπ' αὐτοῖς ἀξιῶ Blass-Schindel, Budé, Schultz.

7 Paragraphus below this line inserted by a different hand.

10 The correction has been made by a different hand.

11–12  $\epsilon\kappa\alpha[\dots]\epsilon\tau\epsilon$ . Perhaps  $\epsilon\kappa\alpha[\theta\acute{\iota}]\zeta\epsilon\tau\omicron$  or  $\epsilon\kappa\alpha[\theta\acute{\epsilon}]\zeta\epsilon\tau\omicron$ , against  $\epsilon\kappa\acute{\alpha}\theta\eta\tau\omicron$  in Blass-Schindel, Budé and ( $\epsilon\kappa\acute{\alpha}\theta\eta\tau'$ ) Schultz.

12  $\Pi\epsilon\rho\alpha\acute{\iota}$ . Final iota and diacresis added by a different hand.

14  $[\iota]\alpha\tau\rho\iota\omicron\upsilon$ . Read  $\lambda\alpha\tau\rho'\acute{\omicron}\upsilon$ ; the same error occurs in cod. o.

17–18  $\acute{\epsilon}\alpha\upsilon\tau\acute{\omicron}\nu$  Schultz;  $\alpha\acute{\upsilon}\tau\acute{\omicron}\nu$  a b, Blass-Schindel, Budé;  $\alpha\acute{\upsilon}\tau\acute{\omicron}\nu$  o,  $\alpha\acute{\upsilon}\tau\acute{\omicron}\nu\varsigma$  l.

19 After  $\pi\rho\omicron\eta\rho\eta\mu\acute{\epsilon}\nu\omicron\varsigma$  the papyrus must have omitted  $\acute{\omega}\varsigma$   $\alpha\acute{\upsilon}\tau\acute{\omicron}$   $\tau\omicron\upsilon\beta\rho\gamma\omicron\nu$   $\acute{\epsilon}\delta\epsilon\iota\acute{\xi}\epsilon\nu$ , an important clause but one which is not indispensable syntactically. Its omission might then have been intentional. I would exclude an error due to jumping from the final  $-\omicron\varsigma$  of  $\pi\rho\omicron\eta\rho\eta\mu\acute{\epsilon}\nu\omicron\varsigma$  to the initial  $-\omicron\varsigma$  of  $\delta\acute{\omicron}\varsigma\omicron\iota$ , because there is space in the lacuna for  $\omicron\varsigma$   $\omicron\varsigma$ . The traces in the margin level with 20 may relate to the omission but I have been unable to read them as part of the omitted text.

20 Marginal note by a different hand.

26–7  $[\tau\omega$   $\varsigma\omega\mu\alpha\tau]$   $\tau\omega$   $T\epsilon\iota[\mu\alpha\rho\chi\omicron]\upsilon$  (l.  $T\iota\mu\acute{\alpha}\rho\chi\omicron\nu$ ). Blass-Schindel added  $\langle\tau\acute{\omega}\rangle$ , against  $\tau\acute{\omega}$   $\varsigma\omega\mu\alpha\tau\iota$   $T\iota\mu\acute{\alpha}\rho\chi\omicron\nu$  in Schultz and Budé.

29  $\mu\eta\delta\epsilon\iota\varsigma$ .  $\mu\acute{\eta}$   $\mu\epsilon$   $\tau\iota\varsigma$  Blass-Schindel and Schultz,  $\mu\acute{\eta}$   $\tau\epsilon$   $\tau\iota\varsigma$  V,  $\mu\acute{\eta}$   $\tau\iota\varsigma$  d f h p q Barb Abb and Budé. The papyrus reading appears to be novel.

30–1  $\alpha\pi\alpha[\nu]\tau\alpha$   $\alpha\kappa[\rho\iota]\beta\omicron\lambda\omicron\gamma\omicron\upsilon\mu\alpha\iota$ .  $\pi\acute{\alpha}\nu\tau\alpha$   $\acute{\alpha}\kappa\rho\iota\beta\omicron\lambda\omicron\gamma\omicron\upsilon\mu\alpha\iota$  f Barb t Abb;  $\lambda\acute{\iota}\alpha\nu$   $\acute{\alpha}\pi\alpha\nu\tau'$   $\acute{\alpha}\kappa\rho\iota\beta\omicron\lambda\omicron\gamma\omicron\upsilon\mu\alpha\iota$  Blass-Schindel, Budé, with V p;  $\pi\acute{\alpha}\nu\tau\alpha$   $\lambda\acute{\iota}\alpha\nu$   $\acute{\alpha}\kappa\rho\iota\beta\omicron\lambda\omicron\gamma\omicron\upsilon\mu\alpha\iota$  q;  $\lambda\acute{\iota}\alpha\nu$   $\acute{\alpha}\kappa\rho\iota\beta\omicron\lambda\omicron\gamma\omicron\upsilon\mu\alpha\iota$   $\acute{\alpha}\pi\alpha\nu\tau\alpha$  Franke;  $\lambda\acute{\iota}\alpha\nu$   $\acute{\alpha}\kappa\rho\iota\beta\omicron\lambda\omicron\gamma\omicron\upsilon\mu\alpha\iota$  Schultz.

#### Verso, col. i

1–2  $\omicron$   $\mu\epsilon\nu$   $\alpha\pi\alpha\gamma\omicron\rho\epsilon\upsilon\epsilon\iota$ .  $\delta$   $\acute{\alpha}\pi\alpha\gamma\omicron\rho\epsilon\upsilon\epsilon\iota$  Blass-Schindel, Budé, Schultz.

3 At the end of the line  $\mu\acute{\eta}$  (so Schultz) is more likely than  $\mu\eta\delta\acute{\epsilon}$  (p, Reiske, Blass-Schindel, Budé) for reasons of space.

7  $[\mu\iota\varsigma\gamma\omicron]\lambda\alpha[\varsigma\epsilon]\tau\iota$ . This word order with omission of  $\tau\iota\varsigma$  was proposed for P. Duk. inv. G 44, line 2, and is found in Athen. *Deipn.* 339 b.

9–10 The last traces of 9 suggest  $\tau$  rather than  $\nu$ ; thus  $\kappa\omicron\lambda\upsilon\tau\tau\epsilon\acute{\upsilon}\varsigma$  (P. Duk. inv. G 44, Athen, *Deipn.* 339 b) is more likely than  $\kappa\omicron\lambda\lambda\upsilon\tau\epsilon\acute{\upsilon}\varsigma$  (Blass-Schindel, Budé, Schultz).

14 High point a later addition.

17 After  $\kappa\alpha\acute{\iota}$ , omission of  $\acute{\alpha}\epsilon\acute{\iota}$   $\tau\iota\nu\alpha\varsigma$  (present in P. Duk. inv. G 44 and Blass-Schindel, Budé and Schultz).

17–18  $\pi[\epsilon]\rho\iota$   $\alpha[\upsilon\tau\omicron\nu]$   $\epsilon\iota\omega\theta\acute{\omega}\varsigma$   $[\varsigma\epsilon]\chi[\epsilon\iota\nu]$ . Similarly in P. Duk.  $\epsilon\acute{\iota}\omega\theta\acute{\omega}\varsigma$   $\acute{\epsilon}\chi\epsilon\iota\nu$   $\pi\epsilon\rho\acute{\iota}$   $\alpha\acute{\upsilon}\tau\acute{\omicron}\nu$  Athen., Blass-Schindel, Budé;  $\acute{\epsilon}\chi\epsilon\iota\nu$   $\epsilon\acute{\iota}\omega\theta\acute{\omega}\varsigma$   $\pi\epsilon\rho\acute{\iota}$   $\alpha\acute{\upsilon}\tau\acute{\omicron}\nu$  Franke, Schultz;  $\acute{\epsilon}\chi\omega\nu$   $\pi\epsilon\rho\acute{\iota}$   $\alpha\acute{\upsilon}\tau\acute{\omicron}\nu$  d f h q Abb, Weidner;  $\acute{\epsilon}\chi\omega\nu$   $\epsilon\acute{\iota}\omega\theta\acute{\omega}\varsigma$   $\pi\epsilon\rho\acute{\iota}$   $\alpha\acute{\upsilon}\tau\acute{\omicron}\nu$  Barb.

25a This interlinear insertion may be by the original hand, although in a lighter ink and more informal.

31 Final  $\nu$  of  $\acute{\epsilon}\varsigma\chi\epsilon\nu$  has been wrongly added before a consonant.

#### Col. ii

2 Above  $\omicron$ [, a rough mark in a lighter ink, possibly intended as a high stop.

3 Unexplained ink above and before  $\omicron\nu\kappa$ .

5  $[\omicron\nu]\tau\omicron\varsigma$ .  $\omicron\acute{\upsilon}\tau\omicron\varsigma\acute{\iota}$  Blass-Schindel, Budé, Schultz;  $\omicron\acute{\upsilon}\tau\omicron\varsigma\acute{\iota}\nu$  g, h.

10  $[\alpha]\nu\tau\omicron\nu$ .  $\alpha\acute{\upsilon}\tau\acute{\omega}$  Blass-Schindel, Budé, Schultz.

14  $\epsilon\pi\rho\alpha\acute{\xi}\epsilon\nu$ . Cf. verso i 31 n.

17 The ink traces are confused, but correction from dative plural to singular ( $-\phi\alpha\gamma\iota\alpha[[\iota\varsigma]]$ ) must I think be preferable to correction from singular to plural ( $-\phi\alpha\gamma\iota\alpha[\iota]^\varsigma$ ) because of the avoidance of iota adscript in this MS and the too wide gap which would follow uncorrected  $-\phi\alpha\gamma\iota\alpha$ . Thus the high ink trace will be from the erasure, not a supralinear sigma. Schultz retains the plural; Blass-Schindel and Budé prefer the singular, with f Abb d Barb.

18 After  $\lambda\acute{\iota}\alpha$ , a cancelled letter ( $\varsigma$ ?) with possibly  $\omega$  (cancelled?) after that, but it is hard to discern  $\mu$  in the traces following that. I cannot absolutely exclude  $-\lambda\acute{\iota}\alpha[[\iota\varsigma]$   $\kappa[\alpha\iota](?)$ ; the repeated plural might be expected, and together with  $\delta\psi\omicron\phi\alpha\gamma\acute{\iota}\alpha\iota\varsigma$  is retained by Schultz. The traces transcribed after  $\mu$  or  $\kappa$  are remains of the erasing strokes only. Either way, there is no other trace in the text tradition of other words between  $\pi\omicron\lambda\upsilon\tau\epsilon\lambda\acute{\epsilon}\acute{\iota}\alpha$  and  $\delta\epsilon\acute{\iota}\pi\nu\omega\nu$  ( $\delta\iota\pi\nu\omega\nu$  pap.) except in f Abb Barb which give  $\kappa\alpha\acute{\iota}$   $\delta\epsilon\acute{\iota}\pi\nu\omega$ . The fragmentary marginal note (in a different hand) does not help to reconstruct the text.

20  $\epsilon\tau\epsilon\rho\alpha\iota\varsigma$  by the original hand, an error for  $\acute{\epsilon}\tau\alpha\acute{\iota}\rho\alpha\iota\varsigma$ , was corrected by a second hand which wrote supralinear  $\alpha\iota$  above the second  $\epsilon$ . The correction was taken beyond this, however, with the addition of



supralinear  $\epsilon$  above  $\alpha$  following, perhaps a failed attempt (iota omitted) to write  $\acute{\epsilon}\tau\alpha\iota\rho\epsilon\acute{\iota}\alpha\iota\varsigma$ , which would be a variant unattested elsewhere.

31-2 ου]τε πα[ρ επιτροπω. Similarly Schultz. παρεπιτρόπω f o v Laur Abb. παρ' del. H. Wolf, Fr., Bens., Budé. The whole phrase was deleted by Weidner, and is printed but bracketed by Blass-Schindel.

35-6 αυτος [ω]ρα[ο]ς ω[ν]. There is no other trace of  $\alpha\upsilon\tau\acute{o}\varsigma$  in the text tradition.

GIOVANNA MENCI

### 4030. AESCHINES *In Tim.* 43-52

47 5B.47/B(7-8)a  
+ 46 5B.51/C(3-4)a

c. 33 × 23 cm

Late second century

Five consecutive columns contain §§43-52 of Aeschines' *In Timarchum* on the back of a second century register. There are two fragments, each reassembled from many smaller pieces; the gap between them comes down the middle of col. ii. This is the first papyrus witness for this section of the oration. Cf. the *addenda* in the edition of Blass-Schindel, pp. xxiii-xxvi. The papyri of the *In Timarchum* listed there, to which P. Duk. inv. G 44 (see 4029 introd.) and also 4027-9 and 4031-4 should be added, all come from MSS different from 4030.

The upper half of the last column has been lost. The height of the roll was approx. 23 cm, with an upper margin of 2 cm and a lower one of 2.5 cm. There are two kolleseis, down the intercolumnium between cols. ii-iii and at the right edge of col. v (this of course is on the side of the roll with vertical fibres), giving a sheet width of 21 cm. The papyrus was a working copy rather than a prestige production; the height and width of the columns are uneven, the number of lines per column is not constant (33 in col. i, 37 in col. iv), and there are many writing errors corrected by the scribe himself in the course of making this copy. The same scribe has also inserted some punctuation and lectional signs at the same time. However, most of the corrections, cursive supralinear additions, accents and punctuation have been effected in a paler ink at a revision stage, although they may still be the work of the original scribe. Diaeresis occurs over initial  $\iota$  and  $\nu$  and in iii 8 and iv 33 over epideictic  $\iota$ . Elision is marked in iii 4, and iota adscript occurs in iii 26. Final  $\nu$  at the end of a line is occasionally represented by a supralinear bar. Written in a semi-cursive hand.

Compared with the Teubner edition of Blass-Schindel (1978), the papyrus presents frequent changes in word order, and in many places the reconstruction of text lost in lacuna is uncertain. From an overall view of the table above, pp. 51-2, the papyrus tends to align itself (but not consistently) with the readings of d f h q Barb Abb.

## Col. i

- [σαμενου δε] του Μισγολα κ[αι] (§43)  
 [του Φαιδρου] τοις ξενοις· κα[ι]  
 [κελευοντων] ηδη ακολουθειν εις  
 [το δεσμωτ]ηριον· οτι μειρακιον  
 5 [ελευθερον δι]εφθει[ρ]αν· φοβηθεν  
 [τες οι ξενοι φ]ε[υγον]τες ωχοντο  
 [καταλιποντες τα π]αρεσκευασμε  
 [να και ταυθ] οτι ε[γω α]ληθη λεγω. §44  
 [παντες (?)οι κ]ατ εκεινους τους  
 10 [χρονους (?)οσο]ι εγιγνωσκο[με]ν  
 [Μισγολαν και] Τιμαρχον ἴσασι [[δ]] ἡ δὴ  
 [και πανυ χαιρ]ω οτι γεγоне μοι  
 [η δικη προς] ανθρωπον ουκ η  
 [γνοημενο]ν υφ ὑμων ουδ α  
 15 [π αλλου γιγνωσκομε]νον ο[υ]δε  
 [νος η απ αυτου του επι]τηδευ  
 [ματος περι ου και την] ψηφον  
 [μελλετε φερειν περι μ]εν γαρ  
 [των αγνοουμενων σα]φεις  
 20 [ιως προσηκει ποιεις]θαι  
 [τας αποδειξεις τον κα]τηγο  
 [ρον περι δε των ομο]λογου  
 [μενων ου λιαν εγωγ]ε με  
 [γα εργον ειναι νο]μιζω το  
 25 [κατηγορειν α]ναμνησαι γαρ  
 [μονον προσηκ]ει το[υ]ς ακουον  
 [τας εγω τοινυ]ν και περι ομο  
 [λογουμενου π]ραγματος ον  
 [τος c. 5 επ]ειδη εν δικα  
 30 [στηριω εσμεν] γεγραφα μαρ  
 [τυριαν τω Μισ]γολα αληθη  
 [μεν ουκ απαι]δευτον δε [[ως]]  
 [(?)ως εγω εμαυ]τον πειθωι·

Col. ii

- [αυτο] μιν γὰρ τουνομ]α  
 [του ε]ργο[υ] ο επ[ραττε προ]ς  
 [τουτ]ον· ουκ ε[γγραφω] [ . . . ]  
 [ουδ] αλλο γεγ[ραφα ου]δεν·  
 5 [ . . . ] επιζη[μιον ε]στιν  
 [εκ τ]ων νομ[ων τ]ῷ τα  
 λ[ηθ]η μαρτυ[ρησαντι] α  
 δ εστ[ι]ν ὑμιν μ[εν α]κο[υου]  
 ci [γ]νωριμα ακι[νδυ]να  
 10 δε τῷ μαρτυρο[υντι] και  
 μη α[ις] χρα τ[αυτα γ]εγρα  
 φα· ε[αν μ]ε[ν ουν ε]θελη  
 ση ο M[ις]γολας c. 5 ταλ]η  
 θη μ[αρτυρειν τα δικαι]α  
 15 ποιη[σει εαν δε προ]  
 αιρητ[α]ι εκκλητευθηναι]  
 μαλλο[ν η ταληθη μαρτυ]  
 ρειν. ὑμ[εις το ολον πρα]  
 γμα [κυ]νιδ[ετε ει γαρ ο]  
 20 μιν [π]ρασα[ς αις] χυνειται]  
 • και π[ρο]αιρης[εται χιλι]  
 ας δρ[αχ]μας μ[αλλον α]  
 ποτ[ε]ισαι] τῷ [δημοσιω ως]  
 τε μ[η] δειξ[αι το προςω]  
 25 πον τῷ εαν[του υμιν ο δε]  
 πεπονθω[ς δημηγορησει]  
 σοφος [ . . . ] νομ[οθετης ο]  
 τους ουτως β[δελυρους εξ]  
 ειρ[γ]ων απο τ[ου βηματος]  
 30 εαν δ] αρα υπακ[ουση μιν τρα]  
 π[ητ]αι δε επι [το αναιδε]  
 στα[το]ν επι τ[ῷ] [εξομνυσθαι]  
 τας [αλ]ηθειας· ως Τιμαρχω]  
 μ[εν] χαριτας α[ποδιδους]  
 35 [ετερο]ις δε επ[ιδειξιν]

§46

§47

## Col. iii

- ποιουμενος ως ε , επιστα  
 ται τα τοιαυτα συνκρυπτει(ν)  
 πρωτον μεν εις εαυτον  
 εξαμαρτησεται· επειτ' ου  
 5 δεν εσται αυτω πλεον· ε  
 τερ[αν γ]αρ εγ[ω γεγρα]φα μαρ  
 τυ[ρια]ν τοι[ς ει]δος[ι] Τιμαρ  
 χον τουτονι καταλιπ[ον]τα  
 την πατρων οικιαν κα[ι] δι  
 10 αιτω[μ]ενον παρα Μισγολα·  
 πραγμα οιμαι χαλεπον εξ  
 εργαζεσθαι εγχειρων· ου  
 [τε γ]α[ρ εμε δ]ει τους εμαυτου  
 [φιλους μαρτ]υρας παρα[ς]χε  
 15 ρθαι [ουτ]ε το[υς] τουτων εχθρους·  
 ουτε τους μηδετερους ημω(ν)  
 [ . ]  
 γιγν[ω]σκοντας· αλλα τους  
 τουτων φιλου[ς] αν δ αρα και §48  
 τουτους πεισωξι μη μαρτυ  
 20 ρειν· ως ουκ [οι]ομαι· ει δε μη  
 αλλ ουχ [απα]ντας εκει[νο] γε  
 [ c. 16 ντ]αι  
 [αφελεσθαι την αληθει]αν·  
 [ουδε την εν τη πολει] περι  
 25 [Τιμαρχου φημην ην ου]κ ε  
 [γω παρεσκευασα τουτ]ωι  
 [αλλ αυτος εαυτω ουτ]ω γαρ  
 [χρη καθαρον ε]ιναι τον βι  
 [ον c. 3 τους]ωφ[ρο]νος αν  
 30 [δρος ωστ]ε μηδ επιδ[ε]χε  
 [ςθαι] δοξαν αιτιας πονηρας·  
 [βουλο]μαι δε κακεινο προ  
 [ειπει]ν· εαν αρα ὑπακουση §49

35 [ο Μισγ]ολας τοις νομοι[ς] και  
[υμιν ει]σι φυσεις ανθρωπω(ν)

Col. iv

πολυ διαφ[ερουσαι ο]  
φθηναι αλλ[ηλων τα]  
περι την η[λικιαν ενι]  
οι [μεν γ]αρ ν[εοι οντες]  
5 [προφε]ρεις κ[αι πρεσβυ]  
[τερο]ι φαινο[νται ετεροι]  
[δε π]ολυν αρι[θμον χρο]  
[νο]ν γεγονοτ[ες παντα]  
[π]ασι νεοι δ[οκουσιν ει]  
10 [ναι του]των [δ εστι των]  
[ανδρ]ων ο Μ[ισγολας τυγ]  
[χαν]ει μεν γ[αρ ηλικιω]  
[τη]ς ων εμο[ς και σ]υν[ε]  
[φ]ηβο[ς] και [εστιν] ημιν  
15 τουτ[ι] πεμπ[το]ν και  
τεσσαρακοστο[ν] ετος<sup>και</sup> εγω  
μεν τοσαυτας πολιας ε  
χω οσα<sup>ς</sup> υμ[ι]ς ορατε αλλ ου  
κ εκεινος· δια τι δη ταυ  
20 τα [προλ]εγω [ι]να μη εξ  
αιφ[νης ι]δον[τες] αυτον  
θαυμ[αση]τε [και τ]οιου  
τον τ[ι τη δι]ανο[ια] υπολα  
βητε ω [ηρ]ακλ[εις] αλλ ου  
25 τος {η} γε τουτ[οις] {τ}ου<sup>ου</sup> πο  
λυ διαφερε[ι] αμα μεν  
γαρ ε[ς]τιν η φ[υσις] τοιαυ  
τη του ανδρ[ος] αμα] δε  
και μιρακιω [αυτ]ω ον  
30 τι επλησιαζ[ε]ν ινα δε



μη διατρεῖ[βω] καλεῖ μο[ι]  
 πρ[ω]τον μ[εν το]υς ἰδοτας  
 Τιμαρχον τ[ουτο]ν<sup>ν</sup>ῖ διαι  
 [τωμ]ε<sup>ν</sup>[νος] [εν τ]η Μισγο  
 35 [λα οικ]ία· επ[ει]τα την Φαι  
 [δρο]ν μαρτυ[ρι]αν ανα  
 [γιγνω]ςκ[ε]· τελε[υ]ται

## Col. v

[1-15 lost]  
 . [  
 [  
 . . . ]ον . [  
 ο [νο]μοθ[ετης παρρησια] (§51)  
 20 ζ[ε]ται η[ταιρηκεναι μο]  
 ν[ο]ν [ο]ι γα[ρ προς ενα τουτο]  
 πρᾶττον[τες επι μισθω δε]  
 την πραξ[ιν ποιου]μ[ε]  
 νος αυτω μ[οι] δοκει του[τω]  
 25 ενοχος ε[ι]ναι εαν δε ü §52  
 μας αναμπησας επι  
 δειξω üπερβαινων  
 τουςδε τους αγρ[ι]ου<sup>c</sup> Κηδω  
 νιδην και Αυτοκλειδη(ν)  
 30 και Θερσανδρον [[και γ Α[ν]  
 δροκλε[ι]δην]] ων εν ταις  
<sup>οι</sup>  
 [[ηλι]]κιας [α]νειλημμεν[ος]  
 γεγονε ου μονον παρα  
 τω Μισγολα μεμισθαρ  
 35 χηκοτα αυτον επι τω  
 σωματι αλλα και παρ ετε

## Col. i

4 The intercolumnium before col. ii is preserved from here to the foot of the column, and measures approx. 1.5 cm wide.

8 ὅτι ἐγώ: so a b m and Bk., Turr., Fr., and Schultz, cf. §65; Blass-Schindell, Weidner and Budé om. ἐγώ following d f q t Barb Abb.

- 9 πάντες οἷ d f h q Barb Abb. πάντες ὅσοι Blass-Schindel, Budé. ἅπαντες ὅσοι Bk., Turr., Fr., Schultz.  
 10 Calculation of the lacuna suggests that the papyrus had the reading ὅσο]ι with d f h q Abb.  
 11 ἱσάει[δ]ῆδῆ, with a rough breathing over first η as well as the accent. ἱσάειδῆ was first written. A second hand revised the text by deleting δ with a diagonal stroke through it and a dot above, and adding δῆ and the breathing and accents, to give ῆδῆ (so a b h Vat.).  
 12 γεγονε μοι. μοι γέγονεν edd.  
 20–1 ποιεῖσθαι τὰς ἀποδείξεις with d f h q Barb Abb. τὰς ἀποδείξεις ποιεῖσθαι edd.  
 26 ]ει very dubious. The ink is very confused, and there are traces of 2–3 letters above the line.  
 27 και περι. So ο=τ. καίπερ Blass-Schindel, Schultz, Budé.  
 28–9 π]ράγματος ον[τος. τοῦ πράγματος ὄντος q t; ὄντος πράγματος d f h Barb Abb.; τοῦ πράγματος, om. ὄντος edd.  
 29 The text tradition gives no indication of what might have filled out the lacuna.  
 33 The initial restoration is uncertain but is suggested by the deletion of ως in 32, and fits the space and accords with the later manuscript evidence. Presumably ως in 32 was deleted later, when it was seen that the word had been written twice.  
 πειθωι. Possibly πειθω[ι].?

## Col. ii

- 4–5 ν and high stop added at the end of 4 by a different hand. The expected text continues ὁ ἐπιζήμιον, which is too short for the lacuna at the start of 5. If 4 originally ended οὐδε, did 5 begin νι (i.e. οὐδενί, so l) δ?  
 8–9 See the table above, p. 51.  
 10 δε. τε Blass-Schindel.  
 13 For the lacuna of approx. 5 letters, the text tradition offers δεῦρο παρελθών. Did the papyrus contain δεῦρο and omit παρελθών?  
 14 On the left, a heavy short diagonal stroke in the intercolumnium. It is misplaced if it was intended to draw attention to an omission in 13, see n. above.  
 μ[αρτυρεῖν. We print the text as in the Teubner edition, but either this (with d f h q Barb Abb, and so Budé) or μ[αρτυρησαι (so Schultz) would fit the space.  
 17–18 ῆ τάληθῆ μαρτυρεῖν bracketed by Blass-Schindel.  
 20 ε of μέν corr. [π]ρασα[c: l. πράξας. For c in place of ξ, see Mayser i<sup>2</sup>.1.184.  
 21 A heavy dot of ink in the intercolumnium to the left.  
 22 μ[. Scanty traces only from the upper part of a letter. The text that preceded suggests that the papyrus had μ[αλλον, with d f h q Barb Abb. μάλλον om. Laur. χιλίας μάλλον δραχμάς Blass-Schindel, Budé, Schultz.  
 32 Correction by a different hand; ω heavily stroked out and ο added above the line.

## Col. iii

- 1 It does not seem as if the traces will readily adapt to εῦ; was εἰ written?  
 2 συνκρυπτει-.  
 11–12 See the table above on p. 51.  
 13 The space is not decisive, but ἐμέ (Budé) would probably fit better than με (Blass-Schindel, Schultz).  
 14 A supralinear bar (representing final ν) appears to have been written over ε at the end of the line.  
 16 ημω-.  
 17 Above first ν, at least one letter, subsequently cancelled. First α of ἀλλά corr. from ο.  
 20 A spot of ink in the intercolumnium to the left. Mark of ink after μή accidental?  
 21 The papyrus does not support the Teubner text's insertion of γε following ἅπαντας.  
 22 There are scanty traces of ink within the indicated lacuna, but they are too small for identification as particular letters, and their lateral location is too uncertain for them to be usefully represented by dots. The space in the lacuna is not decisive for a choice between the readings transmitted or conjectured. It is less confusing if the words are divided. οὐδέποτε a b g l m p; οὐδεμήποτε d f h q Barb Abb; οὐ μήποτε conjectured by Emperius, foll. Fr.<sup>1</sup>, Weidner, Schultz, Blass-Schindel. p inserts με. δύνωνται d f Barb Abb, Weidner; δυνήσονται h q a b g l m p, Bk., Turr., Fr., Budé, Schultz, Blass-Schindel. Further conjectures are given in Schultz's apparatus. The line length, including transcribed ντ]αι, should be approximately 20 letters.

26 *παρεσκευασα τουτ]ωι*. The iota adscript is exceptional in this MS. This order of words is given by d f h q Barb Abb. *τούτω παρεσκευασα* Blass-Schindel; *τούτω* del. Weidner.

27 The space before *ουτ]ω* *γαρ* suggests *ἀλλ' αὐτὸς ἐαυτῶ*, with d f h p q Barb Abb and Weidner. *ἐαυτῶ* omitted by t. *ἀλλ' αὐτὸς οὗτος ἐαυτῶ* Blass-Schindel, Budé, Schultz.

29 The initial lacuna could contain some three letters more than the transmitted text; there are no variants which will guide us to a solution.

35 *ανθρωπω-*.

#### Col. iv

2 *αλλ[ηλων*. So Schultz, Weidner, Fr.; *τῶν ἄλλων* Blass-Schindel and Budé with q t.

5 *καί. δέ* Blass-Schindel.

9-10 *νεοι δ[οκουσιν ειναι*. So d h q. *δ[οκουντες* (f Barb Abb) would also fit the space. Blass-Schindel, Budé and Schultz omit *δοκ. εἶναι* with a b. *νέοι φαίνονται* g l m o p r Vat Laur.

16 *τεσσαρακοστο[ν]*. So b (*τεττ-* Blass-Schindel, Budé, Schultz). See F. T. Gignac, *Grammar* I 146. Punctuation and *καί* at the end of the line added by a different hand.

17 *τοσαυτας*. So p. *τοσαυταί* Blass-Schindel, Budé, Schultz.

18 Marks of ink in the intercolumnium on the left. If not accidental, they may relate to the scribal errors in this line. The supralinear corrections have been added by a different hand.

19 *δη*. So d f h q Barb Abb. *οὖν* Blass-Schindel, Budé, Schultz. Omitted (i.e. *διὰ τί ταῦτα*) by Weidner.

20 Diaeresis over the iota visible.

21 *ι]δον[τ]ες αυτογ*. Inversion of the word order in Blass-Schindel, Budé and Schultz.

23 Ink traces above end of line probably accidental.

27 *ε[ς]την η φ[υς]ς*. So d f h q Barb Abb. *ἡ φύς ἐς τί* Blass-Schindel, Budé, Schultz.

28 Ink traces in the intercolumnium on the left, probably accidental.

28-9 *αμα] δε και. ἅμα δὲ ἥδη* Blass-Schindel, Budé, Schultz (*ἅμα δ' ἥδη*).

29 l. *μειρακίω*.

29-30 *[υντ]ω οντι. ὄντι αὐτῶ* Blass-Schindel, Budé, Schultz.

31-2 *κάλει μοι πρῶτον μὲν* is the order also in d f h q Barb. *πρῶτον μὲν κάλει μοι* Blass-Schindel, Budé, Schultz.

32 l. *εἰδότας*.

#### Col. v

1-15 The upper part of the column has been lost, containing c. 15 lines of text. The loss from col. iv 37-v 19 = §50.4-§51.3, which may be calculated to have been distributed in lines with an average of 19 letters each.

18 Reconstruction on the basis of the scanty traces is difficult, bearing in mind also the various possibilities offered by the text tradition. *α[ντ]ον?* But the lacuna calculable before 19 *init.* would not then be sufficient to contain the text as given by Blass-Schindel, §51.3. Perhaps, as often, there was a change in word order.

21-2 *οἱ ... πράττοντες* an error for *ὁ ... πράττων*. The scribe does not maintain the plural.

26 l. *ἀναμνήσας*.

28 The correction is by a different hand.

29 *αυτοκλειδη-*.

30-31 *[[καί γ' Ἄνδροκλείδην]]*. An inclusion in (apparently) only this MS, but deleted in antiquity.

31 After the personal names, our text continues with *ὧν ἐν ταῖς* (so Budé, following Greg. Corinth. in Walz, *Rhet. Graec.* vii 1185). There is no trace of *ἀλλ' ἐπιδείξω αὐτοὺς λέγων* or its variants in the mediaeval tradition, for which cf. the app. crit. in Blass-Schindel and Schultz.

33 *οὐ μόνον* is apparently not attested elsewhere. *καὶ μὴ μόνον* MSS unspecified; *μὴ μόνον* Blass-Schindel, Budé, Schultz.

34-5 *μεμιθαρχηκοτα*. l. *μεμιθαρνηκότα*.

35 Curious vertical trace at the end of the line, in a dark ink like that of the original scribe. It is not an extension of final *ρ* above, nor, I think, is it an iota adscript.

ISABELLA ANDORLINI

4031. AESCHINES *In Tim.* 79

9 1B.182/F(a)

7.4 × 6 cm

Second or third century

The ends of ten lines, broken above and below, written in a careful severe style, with extended or compressed letters to achieve a justified right margin. The back is blank.

There are no accents or breathings or iota adscript, but the scribe makes liberal use of punctuation marks.

This is the first papyrus to attest this section of the oration.

. . . . .  
 [ c. 9 letters ε]μοι πα  
 [ρεστη]κω[ς] επηρωτα  
 [υμας] το εκ του νομου  
 κηρυγμα των ψηφων  
 5 [η τετ]ρυπημενη ο  
 [τω δοκει] πεπορνεν  
 [ς]θαι Τιμαρχον: η δε  
 [πλη]ρης οτω μη: τι  
 [αν εψη]φισασθε ακρι  
 10 [βωσ οιδ ο]τι κατεγνω  
 . . . . .

1-2 εμοι παρεστηκώς, attested by d f Abb Barb h t Laur. I(g), has not been accepted by any modern editor. See the table above, p. 52.

5 Cf. Schol. in Aeschin. I 79 apud Schultz, p. 268 (now ed. M. R. Dilts, Leipzig 1992, n. 174 a-d). Aeschines is cited by Harpocration, *Lex.* I, s.v. τετυπημένη, with II p. 436; and by Bachmann, *Anecd. Gr.* II p. 333.23, 373.8. For the technical expression τετυπημένη ψήφος see Arist. *Ath. Pol.* 68.4, 69.1 (P. J. Rhodes, *A Commentary on the Aristotelian Athenaion Politeia* (1981) 730 ff.); Schol. Gr. in Ar. *Vesp.* 987; Phot. *Lex.* s.v.; Poll. *Onom.* VIII 123; Suid. s.v. (T 417); Bekker, *Anecd. Gr.* III p. 307.18. For an illustration see Daremberg-Saglio, *Dict.* s.v. Δικασταί.

4 High point added, possibly by a different hand.

7 Τιμαρχον. The accusative is accepted by Schultz and Franke. Τιμαρχος (d f Abb Barb Laur. I(g)) is accepted by Blass-Schindell and Budé. See the table above, p. 52.

LUCIANA SABINI

4032. AESCHINES *In Tim.* 131-2, 134

82/88(a)

9 × 15.8 cm

Second century

The badly damaged remains of parts of two columns from a roll, with the lower margin. The first column has parts of §§131-2, the second column part of §134. The number of lines per column may be calculated as 32, with 24-27 letters per line.

There is one inserted high point (i 17) and a decorative line filler (i 4 end). Written in a rather thick and blobby upright hand with some crude serifs. The back is blank.

## Col. i

- [ c. 12 letters co]υ τᾱ κ[ομψα ταν]  
 [τα χλανισκια περ]ιελομ[ενος και]  
 [τους μαλακους χι]τωνι[σκους ε]υ  
 [οις τους κατα των] φιλων λογους>  
 5 [ c. 14 letters ] .ειν δοιη. εις  
 [ c. 12 letters ] .αις[ c. 9 letters ]  
 [ c. 12 letters ] οιμα[ι αν αυτους]  
 [ει τις μη προε]ιπων τουτο ποιη  
 [κειεν απορησα]ι [[αν]] ειτε ανδρος  
 10 [ειτε γυναικος ε]ιλη[φας]ιν ες[θητα]  
 [αναβησεται δ εν τη α]πολο[για και]  
 [ c. 26 letters ]  
 [ c. 26 letters ]  
 [ c. 14 letters ] . . . . . [ c. 6 ]  
 15 [και διατριβαις] γεγονως ο[ς επι]  
 [χειρησει διακυ]ρειν την ολ[ην]  
 [ενστασιν του αγ]ωνος ου κρισιν  
 [εξευρηκεναι μ]ε φασκων αλ  
 [λα δεινης απα]ιδευσιας αρ[χ]ην  
 20 [παραφερων π]ρωτον μεν τους

## Col. ii

- [τ]ους [δ ηδη γεγονοτας εφ οις]  
 προς[ηκει σεμνυνεσθαι την]  
 πολι[ν εαν καλλει και ωρα]  
 διενε[γκοντες εκπληξωσι]  
 5 τινας κ[αι περιμαχητοι εξ ε]  
 ρωτος γε[νωνται τουτους]



5 ] .ειν suggests an infinitive, perhaps *περιενεγκεῖν*. *περιενέγκας* Blass-Schindel; no variant appears to be recorded here in the mediaeval tradition. The implications of an ink trace between *δοιη* and *εις* remain uncertain.

5-7 The reconstruction of these lines is difficult. From *δοιη* in 5 till *οιμα*[ι in 7, the text tradition offers us a total of 32 letters, to be distributed over a space sufficient for 50. This exercise is complicated by the fact that apparent *αις* in 6 will not fit with any word in that tradition.

9 [[αν]. The deletion (indicated by a supralinear bar) is by the original scribe, who presumably caught himself writing *ἀνδρός* too soon.

ROBERTA BARBIS

### 4033. AESCHINES *In Tim.* 190-192

9 IB.170/J(a)

3.5 × 13.5 cm

Second or third century

A tall narrow strip with part of the top margin and the middle letters of a narrow column. Distribution of missing text between lines is conjectural.

Lines 6-7 have been written closer together and in a smaller script, but by the same hand; 7, moreover, must have projected into the right margin (although not as much as the transcript might suggest, since the letters are smaller). Perhaps the writer left a blank line, because his exemplar was faulty in some respect, intending to fill it in later, but he then found that the space he had left was insufficient.

There are no accents. A high point is used in 7, 12, 18 and 24, and a double point in 23. At least those in 7, 12 and 23 are insertions. In 18, the heavy high point after *δημ]ον* is followed by a long horizontal line.

Written in a distinctive upright hand with occasional slight serifs and some ligaturing, with very few projections above or below the main line of writing. Cf. 4034. The back is blank.

[            ]ναι    . 'τ'  
                  (vac.)  
 [ουκ απ α]νθρωπω[ν ασελ]  
 [γειας] <sup>ιγ</sup>γενεσθ[αι]  
 [μηδε το]υς ησεβ[ηκοτας]  
 5 [καθα]περ εν ταις τ[ραγωδiais]  
 [Ποινα]ς ελαυνειν κα[ι κολαζειν]  
 [δασιν] ημμεναις· αλ[λ αι προπετεις του σωματος ηδοναι]  
                  θ  
 [και τ]ο μηδεν [ικανον]  
 [τουτ]ο <sup>α</sup>πληροι <sup>α</sup>τ[α λη]  
 10 [στηρι]α <sup>α</sup>τουτο <sup>α</sup>ει[ς τον]  
 [επακ]τροκελ[ητα εμβι]

- [βαζε]<sup>a</sup>ι· τούτο<sup>a</sup> [εστιν εκα]  
 [ετω] Ποινη τ[αυτα παρα]  
 [κελ]ευεται [εφατ]  
 15 [τειν] τους πο[λιτας]  
 [υπηρ]ετειν<sup>το[ι]c</sup> τυ[ραννοικ]  
 [κυγκ]αταλυε[ιν τον]  
 [δημ]ον· ——— [ου γαρ]  
 [την] αιχυννη[ν]  
 20 [ουδ α] πεικοντ[αι λογι]  
 [ζονται] αλλ' ηλ<sup>εφ</sup>[οικ κατ]  
 [ορθως]αντες ε[υφραν]  
 [θηκοντ]αι· τουτ[οικ κε]  
 [κηληνται]· εξαιρε[ιτε]  
 25 [ουν ω αν]δρες Α[θηναιοι]  
 [τας τοιαυτα]c φυc[εις και]  
 [τα των νεω]ν ζη[λωμα]  
 [τα επ αρετ]ην [προ]  
 [τρεψεςθε] εν [

1 The remains in the upper margin may be of an omitted word, for insertion in the text, perhaps at line 8 (see n.). ]ναι is in the original hand, but on the small scale of 6–7. 'τ' is in a more cursive script.

3 Above the first ε of γενέσθαι, the letters ιγ have been added perhaps by a different hand, with the effect of transforming an aorist infinitive into a present infinitive. The variant γενέεσθαι is apparently unattested in the mediaeval tradition.

8 There is no MS or editorial support for the supralinear correction of μηδέν to μηθέν.

At the end of the line, an infinitive is wanting after [ικανον] (if that restoration is correct), but there is no space for it on the papyrus. The overlooked infinitive might have been ἡγείεσθαι (so Blass-Schindell, Budé, Schultz) or εἶναι (cf. Ammonius s.v. κέληc); in favour of the second might be the presence of ]ναι in the upper margin, see 1 n.

9 Here and in 10 and 12 (and perhaps also 13, now lost) τοῦτο has been converted to ταῦτα by the insertion of two supralinear alphas. As regards 10, cf. Schol. Patm. p. 154 (*apud* Blass-Schindell).

9–10 ληστήρια first of all was changed to the singular by the supralinear insertion, and then the insertion was itself cancelled with a line through it. We may suppose that τ[α in 9 underwent a similar process.

16 The supralinear insertion of the article before τυράννοικ is probably due to the original scribe. The wording of his first version, without the article, is found in Codex Laurentianus conv. soppr. 84 (= Abb).

18 After ν, a heavy high stop. After that, a long horizontal line, by the original scribe. Are we at the end of a later insertion as conjectured for 6–7, see introd., only here the space that had been left proved more than adequate?

19 The line seems unexpectedly short.

21 The modification may be due to the original hand, adding the apostrophe and supralinear εφ, with a dot at least above η. It is not certain how αλληλ[ might have continued; we supplement the line so as to cause the minimum disturbance. ἐφ' is bracketed by Blass-Schindell (i.e. ἀλλ' οἴε).

28–9 *προτρέψαθε* in the Teubner text is from a conjecture by Cobet; the papyrus may have had *προτρέψαθε* along with (it seems) the majority of the mediaeval MSS. P. Hal. 6 offers *προτρέψατε*, see Blass-Schindell, p. xxv.

29 The traces are scanty but best support the reading *ἐν δὲ εὖ* (f h q) against *εὖ δέ* of a b g m p Vat Laur with Blass-Schindell, Budé, Schultz.

ROBERTA BARBIS

#### 4034. AESCHINES *In Tim.* 194–6

26 3B.53/G(3–5)a

6.2 × 8.4 cm

Second or third century

Parts of the tops of the two final columns of the oration, with a fine coronis. The final column has three lines only, with a large blank area below. There is no trace of a colophon.

Line length varies between 14–18 letters. Normal column height will have been 41–43 lines. In col. i 1 elision is marked with an apostrophe. There are examples of diaeresis (i 4), a high stop (ii 3), a double point (i 16) and a forked line filler at the end of i 6. Another double point at the end of i 14 is wrongly placed for punctuation and perhaps serves a different textual purpose. In col. i the text shows traces of faint horizontal ink ruling lines, especially noticeable below i 2, 7 and 10. There is no trace of vertical ruling. The ruling was done a column at a time; the lines do not reach into the blank foot of col. ii, and no ruling is visible below any of the three lines of script there. No such rulings are present in **4033** (see below).

The script seems closely similar to that of **4033**, and it is possible that they belong to the same roll despite the divergent inventory numbers. The amount of text lost between them would accord with one completely missing column. The back of **4033** was blank; here on the back are the remains of six cursive lines, the lower four very faint and possibly deliberately washed out.

Col. i

[*στωσιν ετεροι*] δ' εκ

[*των ακολαστω*]ν και

[*των τοιουτοις κε*]χη

[*μενων αφθον*]ως ῑ

5 [*να ταις βοηθειαι*]ς αυ

[*των πιστευον*]τες >

[*ραον τινες εξα*]μαρ

[*τανωσιν ων πριν τ*]ην

[*συνηγοριαν ακ*]ρου

- 10 [και τους βιους ανα]μι  
 [μνησκεσθε και τ]ους  
 [μεν εις τα σωμα]τα  
 [ημαρτηκοτας μη] υ  
 [μιν ενοχλειν αλ]λα:  
 15 [παυσασθαι δημηγ]ο  
 [ρουντας κελευετ]ε:

## Col. ii

ταις υμετ[εραις γνω]  
 μαις η πραξ[ις κατα]  
 λειπεται·

(coronis)

## Col. i

1 A tiny trace of ink above the beginning of this line, of uncertain significance.

3 On the basis of the calculated average number of letters per line, the papyrus must have omitted something between καί (2) and κεχρημένων (3-4). See the table above, p. 53. Omission of τοῖς is proposed there, being well attested in the mediaeval tradition. The solitary reading of p, τούτοις in place of (τοῖς) τοιούτοις, would fit the space better still.

8-9 πρὶν τῆς συνηγορίας Blass-Schindel. The traces here before ν are scanty (a vertical, and a trace of a ligature?) but seem not to suit iota (πρίν); nor would πρίν here and τῆς συνηγορίας in 9 suit the line length. We are thus pushed towards reading τ]ήν<sup>9</sup> [συνηγορίαν as does P. Hal. 6 (see pp. xxiv-xxvi in Blass-Schindel, and J. Lenaerts, *CE* 41 (1966) 154-5) and part of the mediaeval MS-evidence.

## Col. ii

3 The papyrus omits (as does Schultz) the sentence εἰ οὖν βουλήσεσθε κτλ., found in d f h q Barb Abb and printed by Budé, and by Blass-Schindel in smaller type.

ROBERTA BARBIS

4035. AESCHINES *De Fals. Leg.* 43-45

75/14

12.5 × 11.5 cm

Second century

The lower portions of two columns with the lower margin (4 cm) and intercolumnium (2.5 cm). Only the last few lines of col. ii are complete or nearly so. Line length averaged 20 letters; calculated from the text lost between the two columns, column height was 24 lines.

Written in a neat small and very graceful hand of severe style type. As punctuation there are high stops in i 6 and ii 11, seemingly by the original scribe. The high point at the end of i 9, if not accidental, is a mistake. Also due to the original scribe is the correction in i 8 ( $\pi$  cancelled with a horizontal line, and superscript  $\mu$ ).

The back is blank.

## Col. i

[ c. 10 letters ] . . . [ c. 5 ]  
 [υμας εμου δ]ε και δεησιν  
 [τινα ιςχυρα]ν εδεηθη μη  
 [παραλιπειν] αλλ ειπειν ως  
 5 [υπερ Αμφιπο]λεως τι και  
 [Δημοσθεν]ης ειποι· με  
 [χρι μεν ουν] τουτων οι κυμ  
 [πρεσβεις εις]ν μοι <sup>μ</sup>[[π]]αρτυρες  
 [ους προπηλα]κιζων ουτος  
 10 [και διαβαλλ]ων εν τη κα

## Col. ii

α[λλ εαν μη τα προ τουτων α]  
 κουσ[τε ουδ εκεινοις ομοι]  
 ως παρα[κολουθησετε εαν]  
 δ εμοι τω κιν[δυνευοντι]  
 5 δωτε ειπειν ως βο[υλομαι]  
 και σωσαι με ει [μηδε]ν α  
 δικω δυνησες[θε ικαν]ας  
 αφορμας ειληφοτες [κα]ι θε  
 ασεσθε εκ των ομ[ολογο]υ  
 10 μενων και τα αντιε[γ]ο  
 μενα· ως γαρ δευρ ηλθομε(ν)  
 και προς την βουλην επ[ι]  
 κεφαλαιων την πρεσβεια(ν)

Col. ii. 11 ηλθομε-

13 πρεσβεια-



## Col. i

3 *τινα* (required by the space) is attested by d f h q Barb l s Fl Laur I LAcq50, but is omitted by Laur and by Blass-Schindel, Budé and Schultz.

8 Supralinear final *ν* (an addition probably by the original scribe) is not required before a consonant.

## Col. ii

8 For the inversion in word order here see the table above, p. 53.

10–11 For *καὶ τὰ ἀντιλεγόμενα* see the table above, p. 53.

ALESSANDRO MOSCADI

**4036.** AESCHINES *De Fals. Leg.* 64–5

103/9(a)

5.8 × 4.1 cm

Late first century

Nine fragmentary lines, with no margins preserved. Average line length was 21 letters. Written in an upright rounded hand with pronounced serifs. The back is blank.

. . . . .

[...]...[ c. 15 letters ]

[το] ει δωι τ[ω γραμματει ουχ]

[υπ]εγαντιο[ν αλλα ταυτον γε]

[γρα]φως Φιλοκρατει και μο[ι λα]

5 [βε] το ψηφισμα αναγνωθ[ι δε]

[το] Δημοσθενους εν ω φ[αι]

[ν]εται γεγρ[αφως τη μεν προ]

[τερ]α των ε[κκλησιων κυμ]

[βουλ]ευει[ν c. 11 letters ]

. . . . .

3 [υπ]εγαντιο[ν. See the table above, p. 53.

We restore *ταῦτόν*, along with the mediaeval tradition (and so Budé, Schultz), since *ταῦτά* in the Teubner text is a conjecture with apparently no MS support.

5 Following *αναγνωθ[ι]*, sense and structure suggest the restoration of *τε* or *δέ*, and the space can admit it. Nevertheless, the apparently universally attested wording is *καὶ ἀνάγνωθι*, see the table above, p. 53.

ALESSANDRO MOSCADI

**4037.** AESCHINES *De Fals. Leg.* 134–5

12 1B.134/D(b)

4.8 × 12.3 cm

Second or third century

Part of the foot of a column with the ends of 14 lines. The lower margin measures 4.3 cm. The first two lines contain the final words of §134, lines 3–4 the rubrics, and

§135 begins in line 5. Line length averages 16 letters. Written in an upright hand of Biblical Uncial type. The back is blank.

·   ·   ·   ·   ·   ·   ·  
 [ c. 14 letters ] . [2-3]  
 [τε της Προξε]γου  
 [επισ]τολη  
 [μαρ]τυρια  
 5 [ακουετε] ω ανδρες Αθη  
 [ναιοι τω]ν χρονων  
 [παραναγ]εινωσκομε  
 [νων εκ τ]ων δημοσι  
 [ων γραμ]ματων κα[ι]  
 10 [των] μαρτυρων υ[μιν]  
 [προς]διαμαρτυρησαν  
 [των ο]τι πριν εμε χει  
 [ροτον]ηθηναι πρεσβευ  
 [την] Φαλαικος ο των Φω

3-4 [επισ]τολη [μαρ]τυρια. See the table above, p. 53.

7-8 [παραναγ]εινωσκομε[νων. παραναγιγνωσκομένων is the reading in Fl LAcq50. Blass-Schindel, Budé and Schultz print παραναγιγνωσκομένων.

11-12 [προς]διαμαρτυρησαν[των. So apparently the main mediaeval MS tradition, and this reading appears in the four Florentine MSS examined (see the table above, p. 53). So Schultz. Blass-Schindel and Budé on the other hand accept προσδιαμαρτυρούντων, conjectured by Hamaker.

ANGELO CASANOVA

#### 4038. AESCHINES *De Fals. Leg.* 171-2

100 (March 28)

5.3 × 14.6 cm

Second or third century

Foot of a column with the badly preserved remains of 21 lines. The lower margin measures 4.2 cm. The line length averages 17 letters. Written in a small script of severe style. The back is blank.

·   ·   ·   ·   ·   ·   ·  
 [cωτη]ρ[ιω]ν τη π[ολει]  
 [βο]υλευματων ζ[ηλωτας]  
 [ει]ναι παρακαλω[ν νυν]  
 [δ] αυτα πορρωθεν [αρξα]

- 5 [μ]ενος μεικρω [διειμι]  
 [c]αφεστερον προτ[ερον]  
 [η] πολις ημων ε[υδοξη]  
 [ce]ν και μετα τ[ην εν]  
 [Ca]λαμινι ναυ[μ]αχ[ιαν]  
 10 [προ]ς τον [Περ]cην και των  
 [τειχ]ω[ν] ü[πο των β]αρβα  
 [ρω]ν πεπτωκοτων ει  
 [ρη]νης üπαρχουσcης [[<sup>πρ</sup>ης]] [oc]  
 [Aa]κεδαιμονιους διε  
 15 [μει]νεν üμειν το τ[ης]  
 [δη]μοκρατιας [π]ολ[ι]  
 [τευμ]α· συνταραχθεν  
 [τες] δε üπο τινων κα[ι]  
 [κατ]αcταντες προ[c] A[a]  
 20 [κεδ]αιμονιους ε[ι]c πο  
 [λεμ]ον πολλα κα[ι] παθ[ον]

1 [cωτη]ρ[ιω]ν τη π[ολει]. The reading is uncertain, but the few visible traces (]ρ[, the crucial letter, is represented by a deep descender) lead one to suppose that the reading here was similar to that in i, accepted by Blass-Schindel and Budé (καλῶν καὶ τῇ πόλει cωτηρίων βουλευμάτων) while much of the mediaeval tradition has the shorter καλῶν τῇ πόλει βουλευμάτων (k Fl Laur LaurI LAcq50, and Schultz).

5 1. μικρῶ.

6 End of the line unclear. Did the papyrus have ποτερον, with l?

7-8 ε[υδοξηce]ν. So Laur Fl, but final ν is not required before a consonant. -ce is found in LaurI LAcq50, and so Blass-Schindel, Budé and Schultz.

8 καί is omitted by Blass-Schindel, Budé and Schultz.

12-13 εἰρήνης ὑπαρχούcης also in LaurI. εἰρήνης δ' ὑπαρχούcης is given by Laur Fl LAcq50, and by Blass-Schindel, Budé and Schultz.

13 Correction at the end of the line by the original scribe. [[ης]]: repetition of the end of the preceding word?

15 üμειν. ὑμῖν stands in a g f V Laur; Blass-Schindel, Budé and Schultz give ἡμῖν.

17 High point a later insertion.

ANGELO CASANOVA

#### 4039. AESCHINES *In Ctes.* 6-7

101/73(a)

Fr. a 8.2 × 16 cm  
 Fr. b 1.8 × 5.2 cm

Late first or early second century

Two fragments, forming part of the same column. An estimated five lines are lost between them. The small fragment has the foot of the column. A projecting fibre at

the top of the larger fragment shows no trace of ink, so that the top line of the fragment may be the top line of the column. If so, the column contained 29 lines and the whole speech would have required an estimated 182 columns, of which the papyrus would contain the fifth.

There are four paragraphi, and high points mark out the phrase *ψηφιοῦμαι κατὰ τοὺς νόμους* (5-6). The original scribe has also made a prominent correction in 6, see n. There is one circumflex accent (4), perhaps also due to the same scribe. Iota adscript is regularly employed. An apostrophe in 18 may be by a second hand.

Written across the fibres in a large coarse upright hand of semi-documentary type. On the other side of the larger fragment are 16 line beginnings in a cursive hand from a register of the late first or perhaps early second century. The list includes some Roman names. Lines 2-6 run as follows:

περὶ Ὡφιν δημ[  
 Ὡφεως ἄν(δρες) ν. [  
 /Πετσίρις Πετς[  
 ὁ κ(αὶ) Πετορ[  
 5 /Λοκρήτις ἀδ[ελφός?  
 /Κάπλας μη(τρὸς) [

The smaller piece is blank on its other side.

(fr. a) [πε]ρ[ι τ]ης ἑαυτο[ν παρρησιας]  
 διοπερ και ο ν[ομοθετης]  
 τουτο πρωτο[ν εταξεν]  
 εν τωι τῶν δικα[ςτ]ων  
 5 ορκωι· ψηφιοῦμαι κατὰ  
 τοῦς [[ορκους]] νομους·  
 εκεινο γε εν ειδως οτι  
 [οταν] διατηρηθωσιν [οι]  
 νομοι τηι πολει σω[ιζεται]  
 10 και η δημοκρ[α]τ[ια α χρη]  
 διαμνημονε[νοντας]  
 υμας μεισειν [τους τα]  
 παρανομα γραφ[οντας]  
 καὶ μηθεν με[ικρον ηγεις]  
 15 θαι ξ[ι]ναι των τ[οιουτων]

αδικημάτων [αλλ' ἐκας]  
 τον υπερμεγέ[θες και]  
 [τ]οῦθ' ὑμῶν τ[ο δικαίον]  
 [μ]ηθενα ἀνθρ[ωπων ἐξαι]  
 20 [ρεῖσθαι μητ]ε τ[ας των]  
 [στρατηγῶν] ζυ[νηγορίας]  
 [ ] ]  
 [ ] ]  
 [ ] ]  
 25 [ ] ]  
 [ ] ]  
 (fr. b) ο[υκ ἀναβιβαζόμενοι]  
 τινες [ἐκφευγούσιν ἐκ των]  
 δικαστ[ηριῶν παρανομῶν]

1 <sup>ἄντο</sup>. The superscript addition may be by the original scribe.

6 [ορκους]. The error may be due to the presence of ὄρκω in the line above. The correction was effected by the writer before continuing the text, by placing small diagonal strokes above each letter.

8 [οταν]. So a g m n, with Budé, Schultz, Franke. [αν] (e k l, with Blass-Schindell, Weidner) would seem a bit short for the space.

12 l. μισείν.

14 l. μηδὲν μικρόν.

14-15 For the word order μικρόν ἡγεῖσθαι see the table above, p. 54.

18 The apostrophe is probably by a different hand.

19 l. μηδένα. <ἔαν> (Blass-Schindell, Budé) is not supported by the papyrus.

28 Unexplained trace above ε of τινες.

ELEONORA BASSI

#### 4040. AESCHINES *In Ctes.* 8

19 2B.78/D(11-13)a

4.7 × 5.5 cm

Second or third century

A small fragment with the ends of eleven lines. A tiny trace of ink from the following column, on a thin projecting strip, gives us the intercolumnium width, 2 cm. No accents, punctuation or other lectional signs. Iota adscript is employed. The last line of the text offers an unparalleled reading.

Written along the fibres in a small script of severe style type. The back is blank.

[ c. 5 και τ]ων νομῶν εαν  
 [ἐξελεγχῶ] Κτησιφῶντα κα[ι]



[παρανομ]α γεγραφοτα και ψε[υ]  
 [δη και αςυ]μφορα τηι πολει  
 5 [λυετε ω αν]δρες Αθηναιοι τας  
 [παρανομο]υς γνωμας βεβαι  
 [ουτε τηι πο]λει την δημοκρα  
 [τιαν κολαζε]τε τους υπεναντι  
 [ως τοις νομο]ις και τωι υμετε  
 10 [ρωι συμφερο]ντι πολιτευομε  
 [νους c. 6 ] . . ω γραμματικε

9-10 For τῶ ὑμετέρῳ συμφέροντι see the table above, p. 54.

11 It is difficult to know what to make of this; the preserved letters bear no relation to the transmitted text. ] . . would be easily read as ]η but may be from two letters. If ]η were right, it forces us into an extraordinary vocative following, instead of more humdrum—but just as unparalleled—γράμματι.

ELEONORA BASSI

**4041.** AESCHINES *In Ctes.* 15-17, 22-23

112/1(a)

Fr. a 15 × 25 cm

Second or third century

Fr. b 5.2 × 10 cm

Two separated fragments from a papyrus roll. The larger has one column virtually complete plus line-beginnings from the top and foot of the column following. The smaller piece, with parts of two columns, comes from later in the roll. XIII **1625** also covers these sections of this oration, and there are overlaps with the present text.

On the larger fragment (fr. a) the upper (5 cm) and lower (5.5 cm) margins are preserved. The intercolumnium measures 2.5 cm, as it does on fr. b. Col. i contains 32 lines, with an average line length of 11-12 letters. The scanty traces of fr. a col. ii are sufficient to establish that it had at most 31 lines against the 32 in col. i.

There are no accents. There is a rough breathing in (a) i 24. Elision is generally employed (but not in (b) ii 10), unmarked by apostrophe. As punctuation, there are several high stops; the one in (a) i 2 is combined with a paragraphus, of *diple* form. Another such paragraphus is below (a) i 6. There are more plain paragraphi elsewhere. There are line fillers of *diple* form, a double one in (a) i 3. Iota adscript is nowhere written. νόμοι in (a) i 7 is framed in ornamental strokes. The orthography is correct (except υμειν for ὑμῖν in (a) i 4). There are no corrections, and indeed no ink on the papyrus that can be securely allocated to a second hand.

This was obviously a handsome manuscript in a generous format. The script is a fairly large severe style. The script of IV **703** is very close; I would not like to assert that that papyrus, containing parts of *In Ctes.* 94 and 96, was not from the same roll.

On the back are widespread faint traces, probably to be explained as offsets.

Fr. a col. i

- (§15) καθαπερ και τας  
 αλλας αρχας· οτι  
 δ αληθη λεγω > >  
 τους νομους υμει(ν)  
 5 αυτους αναγνω  
 ρεται  
 νομοι  
 §16 οταν τουνυν ω  
 ανδρες Αθηναι  
 10 οι ας ο νομοθε >  
 της αρχας ονο  
 μαζει ουτοι προς  
 αγορευωσιν πρα  
 γματειας και ε  
 15 πιμελειας· υμε  
 τερον εργον ε  
 στιν απομνη  
 μονευειν και  
 αντιταττειν  
 20 τον νομον προς  
 την τουτων α  
 ναιδειαν και  
 υποβαλλειν αυ  
 [τοις] οτι ου προ[ς]  
 25 [δεχε]σθε κακουρ  
 [γον ς]οφιστην οι  
 [ομεν]ον ρημα  
 [ει το]υς νομους  
 [αναι]ρησειν· αλ  
 30 [λ οςο]ν αν τις α  
 [μειν]ον λεγη  
 [παρα]νομα γε

## Fr. a col. ii

γρ[αφως τοκουτω]  
 μ[ειζονος οργης]  
 τε[υζεται χρη]  
 γα[ρ το αυτο φθεγ]  
 5 γε[σθαι τον ρη]  
 τ[ορα ]

(Lines 7-20 lost)

. [ ]  
 . [ ]  
 [ ]  
 (§17) [ ομο]  
 25 λ[ογω αλλ επι]  
 δ[εδωκα τη]  
 π[ολει μνας ε]  
 κ[ατον και το ερ]  
 γ[ον μειζον εξειρ]  
 30 γ[ασμαι τινος]  
 ο[υν ]

## Fr. b. col. i

(§22) [ c. 7 αυτ]ο  
 [τουτ εγγραφ]ειν  
 [ουτ ελαβον τ]ων  
 [της πολεως ο]υ  
 5 [τ ανηλω]σα  
 [ανυπευθυ]γον  
 [δε και αζητ]η  
 [τον και αν]εξε  
 [ταστον ουδ]εν  
 10 [εστι των εν] τη  
 [πολει οτι δ] αλη

[θη λεγω αυ]των  
 [ακουσατε τω]ν >  
 [νομων]  
 15 [νομοι]  
 §23 [οταν τοι]γυν  
 [μαλιστα θ]ραρυ  
 [νηται Δη]μ[ο]  
 [cθενης λεγω]ν

## Fr. b col. ii

μ[ερον των πολι]  
 τ[ων ως ουκ ε]  
 π[εδωκας αλλ α]  
 π[ο πολλων ων]  
 5 ε[χεις εις την των]  
 τ[ειχων οικοδο]  
 μ[ιαν μικρα κα]  
 τεθ[ηκας δεκα]  
 ταλ[αντ εις ταυ]  
 10 τα ε[κ της πολε]  
 ως [ειληφως μη]  
 αρπ[αζε την]  
 φιλο[τιμιαν]  
 μη[δ εξαιρου]

## Fr. a col. i

2 For the omission of *κελεύει* see the table above, p. 54. The high point is contemporary, to judge from the placing of omicron following.

4 υμεῖς = ὑμῖν.

4-5 A personal check has shown that the Florentine manuscripts Fl Laur and LAcq50 read here τοὺς νόμους αὐτοὺς ὑμῖν.

12-13 *προσαγορεύωσιν*. Final *ν* not required before a consonant.

15 The stop may be by the original hand, but it looks like an afterthought.

30 *ὅσον*, if correct, is apparently unattested by the mediaeval tradition. See the table above, p. 54.

## Fr. a col. ii

4 For the omission of *ὧ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι* see the table above, p. 54.

Fr. b col. i

1-5 The papyrus here appears to offer a novel, simplified reading. ]ο in 1 controls the content of 2 (moving *τοῦτο* backwards would make 2 too short); 2 projects to the right and its final letters are written small, so that the line length is not excessive. The papyrus might nevertheless have had *τοῦτο γράφειν* with Laur. The high stop at the end of 2 suggests that *ὅτι* may have been omitted; in any case the space in the papyrus requires economies to be made. Omission of *οὐδέν* seems the easiest way to achieve this (which incidentally would exclude omitting with Stephanus *οὗτ'* in place of *ὅτι*).

6 We have restored *ἀνυπεύθυνον*, but are not sure that *ἀνεύθυνον* could not fit the space. See the table above, p. 54.

Fr. b col. ii

10 For *ε[κ* see the table above, p. 54.

PAOLO CARRARA

**4042.** AESCHINES *In Ctes.* 33-4, 35-6

101/5(a)

7.5 × 9.5 cm

Second century

The foot of a column, broken off at the right edge, with a lower margin of 2.5 cm. There are scanty remains of line ends from the preceding column. The intercolumnium measures 1.5 cm. The column height would have been c. 45 lines, each of c. 17 letters.

There are no accents, breathings or punctuation. Iota adscript is not used. Written in a backwards-sloping hand of semi-documentary type, with frequent ligatures. The back is blank.

Col. i

. . . . .

[ἐξώθεν ἀλλ ἀγαπᾶν] ἐν

[αὐτῇ τῇ πόλει τιμῶμεν]ον

[καὶ μὴ ἐργολαβεῖν] ἐν

[ ]

5 [ ]

[ ]

[ ]

[ψηφίσμα]

§34 [ἀκούετε ὡ ἀνδρες] Ἀθη

10 [ναῖοι ὅτι ὁ μὲν νομοθ]έτης

Col. ii

. . . . .

κ[ον νομον καὶ χρησον]

ται τοῦ ν[ομου μερεῖ τινι]



κλεπτοντ[ε]ς τ[ην ακρο]  
 §36 ασιν υμων και πα[ρεξον]  
 5 ται νομον ουδεν π[ρος]  
 ηκοντα τηδε τη γρα[φη]  
 και λεξουσιν [ως εις]  
 τη πολ'ε'ι δυ[ο νομοι κει]  
 μενοι περι [τ]ω[ν κηρυ]  
 10 γματων εις μεν [ον]  
 νυν εγω παρεχομα[ι δι]  
 αρρηδην απαγορε[υων]  
 τον υπο του δημ[ου στε]

## Col. i

1-3 The papyrus cannot accommodate the text as followed in the Teubner edition: supposing only 3 lines lost above [ψηφισμα] is of no help. If we read ]εν correctly in 3, omission of ὑπὸ τοῦ δήμου after τιμωμεν]ον at the end of 2 seems the best solution. 2 as restored is perhaps too long; did the scribe omit αὐτῇ? There would not appear to be mediaeval-MS evidence for either of these alterations.

## Col. ii

6 The Teubner apparatus attributes the reading τῇδε τῇ γραφῇ (which is in the papyrus) to the MSS of family B, + V (which forms part of family B, see *ibid.* p. xvi). This is in direct opposition to Schultz's apparatus where effectively the same MSS (a g m n p z V Laur Fl) are cited for the reading τῇ γραφῇ τῇδε. A personal examination of Laur and Fl has confirmed that they attest the reading Schultz attributes to them.

8 An ε of cursive type has been added above original πολι, possibly by a second hand.

CINZIA FOCHEs

4043. AESCHINES *In Ctes.* 39

103/92(a)

5 × 7.5 cm

Second or third century

Ends of lines only, from the top of a column. The upper margin measures 1.7 cm. Average line length is 21 letters. There are no accents, breathings or punctuation. Iota adscript is not used. Written across the fibres in an informal slightly sloping hand, with some characteristics of the severe style.

On the other side, along the fibres but the other way up, are scanty remains of a second century account. There are remains of a kollesis. The cursive script is overlaid in part by the vertical fibres of a repair patch.

[καν τι τοιουτον ευ]ρι[ς]κωσι(ν)  
 [αναγεγραφοτας εν] κανισιν εκ  
 [τιθεναι κελευει προ]σθε τω(ν)  
 [επωνυμων τους δε π]ρυ

5 [τανεις ποιειν εκκλης]ια(ν)  
 [επιγραφ]αν[τ]ας νομο[θετας]  
 [τον δ ε]πιστατην των προξ  
 [δρων] διαχειροτονιαν διδο  
 [ναι τω] δημω και τ[ους] μ[ε]ν

1 ]ωστ— 3 τω— 5 ]ια—

2 ἀναγεγράφτας. We depart here from our policy of reading Blass-Schindel's text in lacunae, since their ἀναγράφοντας is a conjecture with no MS-support.

3 πρ]οθε. See the table above, p. 54.

6 νομο[θετας]. Here also (cf. 2 n.) we diverge from Blass-Schindel's text (νομοθέταις) in a lacuna. The mediaeval tradition appears uniformly to attest the accusative.

9 τω] δημω. The first trace is with difficulty consistent with δ, but there is no obvious alternative. The papyrus does not sustain the conjecture of Schöll, who considered τῷ δήμῳ an interpolation. Blass-Schindel's text brackets the words. Nor, damaged though it is, does the papyrus support the following deletions of Kaibel or Hamaker/Weidner reported in the Teubner apparatus.

CINZIA FOCHEs

#### 4044. AESCHINES *In Ctes.* 56–8

A 589/1

15.4 × 11.2 cm

Second century?

Parts of three columns, broken above and below, in a large informal hand. Only the first letters of a few lines of col. iii survive; they lie precisely on a kollesis. There are no lectional signs. The text was first identified by John Barns. The back is blank.

Approximately 20 lines have been lost between cols. i–ii. The columns would have had c. 33 lines and an approximate height of 27 cm. The lines average 17 letters and 6 cm in length. Each intercolumnium measures approximately 2.5 cm.

The papyrus text supports an old conjecture in §57, see i 6 n. Otherwise the main textual point of interest is at the foot of col. ii, where the papyrus is fragmentary and damaged but may yet preserve a reading not precisely attested elsewhere. The interest of this is reduced, however, because 4044's text would be a defective or at least abridged version of the wording found in 4045 i 22 ff., on which see the note.

Col. i . . . . .

[κρινομα]ι ο[τι] απαντων

[των τεττ]α[ρ]ων καιρ[ω]ν

[κατηγορ]ω σου ους ου διαι

[ρη καν οι] `τξ' θεοι θελω

§57

5 [σι και οι δ]ικασται εξ ι

[σου η]μῶν ἀκουῶσι κα  
 [γω δυν]ῶμαι ἀπομνη  
 [μονευσ]αι α σοι κυνοῖδα  
 [πανυ πρ]οῤδοκῶ ἐπιδ[ει]  
 10 [ξῆιν τοι]ς δικασταῖς τη[ς]  
 [μεν σω]τηρίας τη πολ[ει]  
 [τους θεο]υς αἰτιοῦς γεγε  
 [νημεν]οῦς[ς] καὶ τ[ο]υς φ[ι]

## Col. ii

ἐ[γενετ αν ω] ἀνδρες Ἀθη] §58  
 ν[αῖοι τὴν προτεραν]  
 ἐκ[εῖνην εἰρηνὴν ποι]  
 ης[α[ς]θαι μετὰ κοι]νοῦ  
 5 συνεδριῶ[ν των Ε]λλήνων[ν]  
 εἰ τιν[ε]ς υμᾶς εἰ[α[ς]αν  
 περιμ[ε]ν[ι]ναι τὰς πρ[ε]ς  
 β[ε]ια[ς] ας η[τ]ξ[ε] ἐκπεπομ  
 φ[ο]τε[ς] κα[τ] ἐκείνον  
 10 τῶν κα[ί]ρον εἰς τὴν Ἑλλά  
 δα παρ[α]καλοῦν[τες]  
 ἐπὶ Φιλ[ιππο]ν καὶ  
 ... [ c. 8 ] .....  
 [ c. 12 ] προῖ

## Col. iii

. [ .  
 δ[ .  
 . [ .  
 . [ .  
 5 . [ .  
 . [ .  
 . [ .

## Col. i

4  $\tau\epsilon$  apparently raised above the line as an addition or correction.  $\tau\epsilon$  itself is crossed by a thin vertical which I cannot explain.

6 The papyrus supports Hamaker's conjecture of ἀκούωσι (*Mnem.* 8 (1859) 5), followed by Blass-Schindel, against the MSS tradition's ἀκούεωσι. Schultz and the Budé edition print ἀκούεωσι, without comment.

10 τοῖς δικάσταῖς bracketed by Blass-Schindel. Schultz and the Budé edition retain the words.

## Col. ii

1 This line is at the same level as i 1.

12–14 Despite the damaged state of the text, the presence of καί (12) and its separation from προῖ–(14) make it clear both that something other than the regular MS-text has been transmitted and that the difference cannot simply be the omission of μετασχεῖν Ἑλληνικοῦ συνεδρίου. A fuller version still, albeit fragmentary, is now provided by 4045 below, on which see the commentary on i 22–5. 4044's scanty traces might suggest <sup>13</sup>μῆτ[α]σχεῖν Ἑλ[ληνικοῦ] <sup>14</sup>[συνεδρίου καὶ] προῖ, thus with preceding καί in 12 an abridged version of 4045's text; but the value of 4044 as evidence is reduced because I am unable to reconcile upsilon at the end of 13 with the ink remains.

## Col. iii

1 This line is at the level of ii 8.

REVEL COLES

4045. AESCHINES *In Ctes.* 57–9, 60–1

32 4B.7/H(2)a

(a) 1.6 × 4.4 cm (b) 5.7 × 17.4 cm

Second or third century

Remains of a complete column of 45 lines, with an average line length of 17 letters and a written height of 19.4 cm. Incomplete upper and lower margins. Beyond an intercolumnium of 1.4 cm are the line beginnings from the lower part of a second column. The beginnings of i 1–9 are on a small detached fragment (= (a)), while the rest (i 10–45 and all the remains of ii) is on a group of joined fragments, = (b).

The hand is an example of the severe style, small and tight-packed. The form sometimes used for kappa is very individual, with a space between the upright and the arms. 4053 below, from nearer the end of the *In Ctesiphontem*, is almost certainly by the same writer. The number of lines per column is slightly different (c. 39 against 45–7) so that it is difficult to know whether the two papyri represent one MS, but the inventory numbers indicate that they were found in the same (the fourth) season.

The columns lean markedly to the right. There are high stops in i 22 and 38. Elision occurs in i 19 and 26. There is a double space filler in i 44, and some final letters (notably  $\eta$  and  $\nu$ ) are dramatically broadened for the same purpose. Final  $\nu$ , on the other hand, is also twice represented by a supralinear bar (i 19, 41).

The text generally supports the basic mediaeval tradition against minor oddities in recentiores, but in two places it offers a more complete wording (i 22–3 and 36–7); in both places the gain is partially lost because of the damaged state of the papyrus.

There are no remains of any kollesis. The back is blank.

- Col. i πρ[ωτου και δευτερον]  
 π[ερι του δευτερου και]  
 τρ[ιτον περι του εφεξης]  
 κα[ι τεταρτον περι των]  
 5 νυ[νι καθεστηκοτων]  
 πρ[αγματων και δη]  
 επα[ναγω εμαυτον ε]  
 πι [την ειρηνην ην συ]  
 κα[ι Φιλοκρατης εγ]ρ[α]  
 10 [ψατε] υμιν γαρ εξεγε §58  
 [νετ α]ν ω ανδρες Αθη  
 [ναιοι] την προτεραν  
 [ε]κεινην ειρηνην ποι  
 [η]σασθαι μετα κοινου  
 15 [συν]εδριου των Ελλη  
 [νων ει τιν]ες ειασαν υ  
 [μας περι]μειναι τας  
 [πρεσβειας ας] ητε εκπε  
 [πομποτες κα]τ εκεινῳ  
 20 [τον καιρο]ν εἰς την Ελ  
 [λαδα παρα]καλουντες  
 [επι Φιλιπ]πον· και α  
 [ . . . . . ]υτους μετα  
 [σχειν Ελλη]νικου συν  
 25 [εδρι]ου [και προ]ιοντος  
 [του] χρον[ου] παρ εκον  
 [των τ]ων Ελ[λ]ηνων απο  
 [λαβει]ν την ηγεμονι  
 [αν και] τουτων απεστε  
 30 [ρηθητε δ]ια Δημ[ο]σθε  
 [νην και] Φιλοκρατη και  
 [τας τουτω]ν δωροδοκι  
 [ας ας εδ]ωροδοκησαν  
 [συσταντ]ες ει δε τιςιν  
 35 [υμων εξαιφ]νης ακου §59



[ααιν . . . .] . ν . . απις  
 [τοτερος . . . .] . προσπε  
 [πτωκεν ο λογ]ος· εκεινωσ  
 [την υπολοι]πον· ποι  
 40 [ησασθε ακρο]αειν ως  
 [περ οταν περι] χρηματῶ  
 [ανηλωμεν]ων δια πολ  
 [λου χρονου κα]θεζω  
 [μεθα επι τους λο]γις> >  
 45 [μους ερχομεθα δ]η

Col. ii. . . . .

30 τ[  
.  
.  
.  
.  
.  
35 [  
βα[νη τον Δημοσθενην]  
πλ[ειω μεν γεγραφοτα]  
ψη[φισματα  
.  
40 .  
.  
δε [αισχυνης κεκολα]  
κευ[κοτα Φιλιππον και]  
τους [παρ εκεινου πρες]  
45 βεις [αιτιον δε γεγονο]  
τα τ[ω δημω του μη μετα]  
κοιν[ου συνεδριου των]

Col. i

1 The mediaeval tradition has *πρώτον καιροῦ καὶ*. This text, undisputedly correct, is too long for the space. Apparently *καιροῦ* was omitted by homoearcton.

16-17 *εἰακαν* *υ[μας. ὑμᾶς εἰακαν* Blass-Schindel, Budé, Schults.

18 The space is rather short to admit *πρεβείας* *ἄν* easily. The pronoun *ἄν* may have been omitted through haplography, or *πρεβείας* marred by iotacism.

22–25 και α[ . . . . . ]υτους μετα[χειν Ἑλλη]νικου συν[εδρι]ου. Cf. **4044** ii 12–14. The mediaeval tradition has only μετασχεῖν Ἑλληνικοῦ συνεδρίου, and following Hamaker (*Mnem.* 8 (1859) 5) all editors have treated these three words as an interpolation, one not easy to explain. Cf. also Dobree, *Advers.* I (1831) 334. **4045** reveals that the corruption in the mediaeval tradition was in fact the omission of καί followed by one or two more words. The sequence ὑμῖν γὰρ ἐξεγενετ' ἂν ... εἰρήνην ποιήσασθαι μετὰ κοινοῦ συνεδρίου ... καὶ α[ . . . . . ]υτους μετασχεῖν Ἑλληνικοῦ συνεδρίου ... καὶ προῖόντος τοῦ χρόνου ἀπολαβεῖν τὴν ἡγεμονίαν gives a more satisfactory context: to be a member of the synedrion was for the Athenians an indispensable preliminary if they wished to recover hegemony with the aid of the other Greek cities. The lost text (α[ . . . . . α]ῦτους or more probably the ending ]υτους of an adjective) must be an element to be taken with the infinitive μετασχεῖν. A significant parallel in an oration devoted to the legitimacy of Athenian hegemony is Isocr. *Plat.* 18, τοῦ συνεδρίου καὶ τῆς ἐλευθερίας μετέχουσιν.

31 Φιλοκράτην e, l, and Blass-Schindel, Budé, Schultz.

34 The omission of ἐπὶ τὸ δημόσιον τὸ ὑμέτερον may be an improvement if we admit that those words are a mere intrusion of an explanatory note to the absolute use of *κυτάντες*.

35–38 The main mediaeval tradition reads ἀκούσασιν ἀπιστότερος προσπέπτωκεν ὁ τοιοῦτος λόγος, followed by Blass-Schindel, Budé and Schultz. We restore ἀπισ[τότερος, to conform, but e k l have ἀπιστος and our restoration of the comparative may be incautious, given the uncertainties each side of it in the papyrus. The papyrus cannot have had τοιοῦτος in this position.

45 This line is slightly above the level of col. ii 47. The line numbering in col. ii is calculated from τ[ which is level with col. i 30. It is just possible that a short line followed here (i.e., i 46), which would help to even the line count, but I am inclined to think it did not. It would have to be unusually short, and would in fact be at a level slightly below ii 47.

Col. ii

44–47 The fragmentary remains are most smoothly restored in such a way as to support Wolf's deletion of οὐκ ἀναμείναντα or οὐ παραμείναντα which the MSS read before or after τοὺς (παρ' ἐκείνου) πρέσβεις.

JEAN LENAERTS

#### **4046.** AESCHINES *In Ctes.* 80–1, 91

30 4B.35/H(1–2)a

3.5 × 2.5 cm

Fifth or sixth century

This small codex fragment must have belonged to a volume with pages of considerable size, to judge from the text lost between recto and verso. The writing column is quite narrow, only an average of 16–17 letters per line, and approximately 240 such lines will have been required for the missing text. There must have been several (three?) columns to each page; this fragment would need to have been located near the spine.

Recto precedes verso. No margins are preserved. The script is small, serified and upright, in a brown ink. The only lectional sign is a high stop at verso 4; this may be due to the original hand, but to judge from the spacing it is an insertion.

As far as it is preserved, the text is consistently that of the commonest tradition in the later MSS.

→ [τα ψ]ηφισματα [γεγρα]  
 [φεν]αι συνεβη δ εν [τοις]  
 [αυτ]οις χρονοις δια[φει]  
 [ρες]θαι τι Δημοσθ[ενην]  
 5 [και Φ]ιλοκρατην c[χε]  
 [δον υ]περ τ[ουτων υ]

↓ [καυτ]αι δυνάμ[εις επ αυ]  
 [το]ν επεστρατε[υον η]  
 [τ]ε Φιλιππου κα[ι Θη]  
 [β]αιων· δευτερ[ον δε]  
 5 [η]κον οι μισθο[ι τω γρα]  
 [ψαντι τη]ν κυμ[μαχίαν]

## Recto

6 Inclusion of *ὑπέρ* at the end would probably be too long; postponement of the whole word to the next line would leave 6 rather short.

## Verso

3 ff. This part of the text is also covered by 4055 fr. (e).

5-6 Blass-Schindler's *γράφοντι* is conjectured; the MSS tradition is apparently consistently *γράφαντι*, and we restore the text in accordance with this. The Budé edition retains the aorist.

REVEL COLES

4047. AESCHINES *In Ctes.* 98

7 1B.3/F(c)

5.9 × 7.8 cm

Late second century

Parts of ten lines from the foot of a column. The column was narrow (5 cm); the line length ranges from 9-13 letters. The lower margin measures 2.3 cm.

This was a handsome MS; the fine script of Biblical Uncial type is very similar to that of 4051 (*In Ctes.* 160-1), as is the layout.

There are no lectional signs. The original scribe employs elision. A second hand has corrected the text at 8, adding *δέ* above the line. The scribe has tried to preserve a justified right margin, writing the last few letters in some lines on a smaller scale, and using a line filler (of *diple* form) in 6.

The back is blank.

[κας] δυνα[μεις]  
 [εκ Π]ελοπ[ον]  
 [νης]ου μ[εν πλε]  
 [ον η] διςμυριους  
 5 [οπ]λιτας εξ Ακαρ  
 ναγίας δ ετε >  
 [ρ]ους τοκουτους  
 δεδοςθα<sup>δε</sup>ι α[πα]ν  
 των τουτ[ων]  
 10 την ηγεμ[ον]ιαν

4 The papyrus preserves the reading διςμυρίους with κ ι; Blass-Schindel's apparatus gives *recte puto* beside διςμυρίους, but nevertheless διςχιλίους is accepted in the text, as it is by Budé and Schultz.

8–9 The papyrus (after the correction) attests the text in the Teubner edition. A personal inspection has shown that the Florentine MSS Laur and Fl read ἀπὸ πάντων.

LINA SALVADORI

**4048.** AESCHINES *In Ctes.* 101

40 5B.57/F(3–5)a

3.4 × 3.8 cm

First century

This small scrap from the top of a column is written in a plain hand reminiscent of Roberts, *GLH* 100. There are no lectional signs. The lines average 22 letters. The notation ψήφισμα survives in 6, centred, generously spaced above and (probably) surrounded with decorative marks. The writer employs iota adscript (5); we have accordingly restored it in 2 and 4.

There are only two textual points of very minor interest, in 4 and 5; see the notes below.

The back is blank.

[κ]αι ανοσιος αν[θρωπος ον φη]  
 [κι] Κτησιφων εν [τωιδε τωι ψη]  
 [φι]σματι διατελ[ειν λεγοντα]  
 [κ]αι πραττοντα αρι[στα τωι]  
 5 [δη]μωι των Αθηναιω[ν]  
 ψήφισμ[α]

4 The papyrus' omission of  $\tau\acute{\alpha}$  before  $\acute{\alpha}\rho\iota\sigma\tau\alpha$  is presumably no more than a writing error, following on  $\pi\rho\acute{\alpha}\tau\tau\omicron\nu\tau\alpha$ .

5  $\delta\acute{\eta}\mu\omega\tau\acute{\omega}$  Blass-Schindler, following Weidner.  $\delta\acute{\eta}\mu\omega\tau\acute{\omega}\nu$ , the papyrus' reading, is retained by Schultz and the Budé edition.

6 Trace to left of  $\psi\eta\phi\iota\varsigma\mu[a]$  perhaps part of a further decorative mark.

REVEL COLES

#### 4049. *AESCHINES In Ctes.* 110–115

48 5B.32/F(1–2)a

8.2 × 14.7 cm

Third century

A damaged leaf of a papyrus codex, in two non-contiguous fragments. The horizontal fibres of the upper part of the recto have been largely stripped. Recto precedes verso. The margins are preserved in part: the upper one measures 1–1.2 cm, the lower one 1.6–2 cm, and the inner one 1.4–2.2 cm. There are no remains of the binding. The outer edge has been lost. There are scanty remains probably of page numbers in the upper margin on each side (on the small fragment), but not enough is left of either even to suggest an identification. The recto has 23 lines, the verso 24. Line length averages 29–30 letters. The script is a spiky severe style.

The scribe uses diaeresis, and there is a possible apostrophe in recto 14. Final  $\nu$  appears before both vowels and consonants. Elision is sometimes employed (recto 14), sometimes not (recto 22).

From the textual aspect, the papyrus shows no special affinity either with any individual mediaeval MS or with any group of MSS. It presents a number of variants, some already attested in the mediaeval tradition but others quite new.

#### Recto

- (§110)  $\lambda\iota\varsigma\ \eta\ \epsilon\theta[\nu\omicron\varsigma\ \eta]\ \delta\upsilon\nu\alpha\varsigma[\tau]\eta\varsigma\ [\eta\ \iota\delta\iota\omega\tau\eta\varsigma\ \epsilon]$   
 $\nu\alpha\gamma\eta\varsigma\ [\phi\eta\iota]\nu\ \epsilon\varsigma\tau\omega\ \tau[ou\ \acute{A}\rho\omicron\lambda\lambda\omega\nu\omicron\varsigma]$   
 $\kappa\alpha[\iota\ \tau\eta\varsigma]\ \acute{A}\rho\tau\epsilon\mu\iota\delta\omicron\varsigma\ \kappa\alpha[\iota\ \acute{A}\eta\tau\omicron\upsilon\varsigma\ \kappa\alpha\iota]$
- §111  $\acute{A}\theta\eta\nu[ac\ \Pi\rho\omicron\nu\omicron]\iota\alpha\varsigma\ \kappa\alpha\iota\ \epsilon\pi\epsilon\nu[\ \text{c. 11 letters} ]$   
 5  $\cdot[\ \text{c. 7 letters} ]\ \dots[\ \text{c. 17 letters} ]$   
 $\kappa\dots\dots[\dots]\dots[\dots]\dots[\ \text{c. 12 letters} ]$   
 $\dots[\dots]\dots[\dots]\dots[\dots]\dots[\ \text{c. 11 letters} ]$   
 $\dots[\dots]\dots[\text{c. 7 letters}]\dots[\ \text{c. 12 letters} ]$   
 $\cdot[\ \text{c. 28 letters} ]$   
 10  $\dots\nu\dots[\ \text{c. 25 letters} ]$   
 $\dots\dots[\ \text{c. 25 letters} ]$   
 $[\dots]\ \tau\eta\ \acute{A}\rho\tau\epsilon\mu\iota\delta[\iota\ \text{c. 15 letters} ]$



- [ . . ] . α . [ c. 25 letters ]
- §112 [οτ]ι δ' ἀλ[η]θῆ λ[εγω αναγνωθι την του θε]
- 15 οὔ μαντ[ε]ϊαν ακ[ουσατε της αρας ανα]  
 μνηςθῆται των ορκων ου[ς υμων οι προ]  
 γονοι μετα των Αμφικτυον[ων συνωμοσαν]  
 μαντειαῖ ορκοῖ α[ρα]
- §113 ταυτης της μαντειας γ[ενομενης]
- 20 [κ]αι της αρας και των ορκ[ων αναγεγραμ]  
 μενων ετι και νυν οι Α[οκροι οι Αμφις]  
 ρεις μαλλον δε οι προεστ[ηκοτες αυτων]  
 ανδρες παρανομωτατο[ι επηργαζοντο]

15-16 l. ἀναμνήσθητε

## Verso

- [το πεδιον κ]αι τον λιμενα [τ]ον εξαγιστον  
 [και επαρατο]ν παλιν ετιχ[ . . ]σαν και συν  
 [ωκισαν κα]ι τελη τους κατα[π]λεοντας εξε  
 [λεγον και] των αφ[ι]κνουμενων εις Δε[λ]
- 5 [φους πυλ]αγορων ενιου[ς] χρημασι δ[ι]ε[ι]
- §114 [φθειρον] ων εις ην Δημ[ο]σθενης χε[ι]  
 [ροτονηθει]ς γαρ υ[φ] υμων [π]υλαγορος λα[μ]  
 [βανει δις]χει[λιας δραχ]μ[α]ς παρα των  
 [Αμφισσεω]ν υ[περ του μηδε]μιαν μνεια[ν]
- 10 [περι αυτων εν τοις Αμφι]κτυοσι ποιη  
 [σασθαι διωμολογηθη] δε α[υτω και ει]ς  
 [τον λοιπον χρονον απο]ςτελλεσθαι Α  
 [θηναζε του ενιαυτου εκ]αστου μνα[ς]  
 [εικοσι των εξαγιστων] και επαρα
- 15 [των χρηματων εφ ωτε] βοηθειν τοις  
 [Αμφισσε]υσιν Αθηνησι[ν] κατα παν  
 [τα τροπο]ν οθεν ετι μαλλον η προ .  
 [ c. 4 συ]μβεβηκεν α[υτω ο]του αν προς  
 [αψηται α]νδρος η ιδιωτ[ο]ν η δυναστου
- 20 [η πολεω]ς δημοκρατουμενης του

§115 [των εκας]τους ανιαται[ς] συμφοραις  
 [περιβαλ]λιν κκεψασθαι δη τον δαι  
 [μονα κα]ι την τυχην οσω περιεγε  
 [νετο της] των Αμφικρεων ασεβειαις

2 ετιχ[. .]can: see note

8 1. διςχιλίας

21 1. ἀνιάτοις

22 1. κέψασθε

#### Recto

1 If our reconstruction is correct, the papyrus offers a *lectio singularis*, perhaps originating by suggestion from ἀνδρὸς ἡ ιδιώτου ἡ δυνάστου in §114.

3-4 The reconstruction is very uncertain, since only scanty and scattered traces remain.

5-13 Although occasional letters can be seen here and there, the appalling state of the surface makes the reconstruction of these lines difficult. A major problem, making reconstruction still more hazardous, is that the scribe must have omitted something. To fit the text of the Teubner edition into this space would require lines averaging 33 letters, against the average of 29-30 letters where the text is more secure.

13 Traces could conform with -[νο]ίᾱ μ[ηδέ], but this would create problems with the line length in the preceding line. Was Αητοιμηδ' omitted?

15-17 In the left margin there is an elaborate series of signs in the manner of a coronis, followed by a decorated paragraphus below 17, perhaps all in the same hand as the main text.

18 Plural μαντεῖαι was written in error for μαντεία, cf. 15 above. In c d e f g k l m p q Barb Flor LaurI the reading is μαντεία ὄρκοι ἀρά. The papyrus gives no text for any of these citations, and it supports the arrangement made by the Blass-Schindel and Budé editions against those adopted by Schultz and others.

19-20 ταυτης της μαντειας γ[ενομένης κ]αι της αρας και των ορκ[ων]. This is a *lectio singularis*, and the papyrus may provide the original reading in this tortured passage in the mediaeval MSS. See the table above, p. 56. Once the word order had become distorted as in e k Laur LaurI, γενομένης created a grammatical problem, which in a g m n Flor was handled by conversion of γενομένης to γε (unless this derives from a copyist's misunderstanding of abbreviated γε(νομένης)?), while l deleted the word altogether.

#### Verso

2 ετιχ[. .]can. It is unlikely that χ was followed by ι, since this would be too narrow to fill the lacuna. The scribe may have written ετιχ[ει]can = ἐτείχισαν (see F. T. Gignac, *Grammar* I 189-91), or ετιχ[η]can = a) ἐτείχισαν (for ι:η see Gignac *op. cit.* 237-8), or b) ἐτείχησαν (so Barb).

3 παραπλέοντας LaurI.

5-6 We restore διέφθειρον with k, Blass-Schindel and Budé, but the papyrus may have had διέφθειραν as many MSS and Schultz. q has δὲ ἔφθειραν.

7 ἡμῶν LaurI. πυλαγόρας Flor Laur LaurI.

8 διςχ]ει[λιας]. Space imposes the restoration. Flor Laur LaurI have χιλίας.

9 υ[περ του]. Traces favour υ, and for space reasons too we may suppose that the papyrus had not τοῦ but ὑπὲρ τοῦ. See the table above, p. 56.

15 βοηθεῖν is apparently a *lectio singularis*. See the table above, p. 56.

17-18 πρότερον Blass-Schindel; no variant is recorded. This will not suit the papyrus, where προς would fit the traces at the end of 17. πρόσ[θεν] might do, but it seems a little short for the space at the beginning of 18.

18 ὅτου. The supralinear addition of the first two letters has been made by a different hand.

19 This passage has proved somewhat indigestible for the MS-tradition. See the table above, p. 56. Further attributions can be deduced from Weidner's apparatus, but we do not report these because they have proved false where we have been able to check them, and others unverified contradict specific readings given elsewhere. The reading in the papyrus was at least ἀνδρὸς ἡ ιδιώτου. Reading ἡ ἀνδρὸς ἡ ιδιώτου might just be admissible, but space is against inclusion of the first ἡ. As regards ἡ before ιδιώτου, ἀνδρὸς could be qualified by δυνάστου as well as by ιδιώτου, both being used adjectivally (cf. ἀνὴρ ιδιώτης in §158, and Hdt. 2.32 ἀνδρῶν δυναστῶν), so that the presence of ἡ before both ιδιώτου and δυνάστου need not cause difficulty.

23 ὄρω. Study of the Teubner apparatus on this point reveals clearly the inaccuracies that can arise from the use of MSS-‘families’: ϕ C, where ‘family C’ includes c and q (see *ibid.* p. xvi), but c reads ϕ ὄρω (see Schultz) while q reads ὄρω (as the Teubner apparatus itself tells us).

DONATELLA LIMONGI

**4050.** AESCHINES *In Ctes.* 157–8

6 1B.8/C(c)

3.9 × 2.9 cm

Second or third century

A small fragment with the ends of six lines. There is a high point (by the original scribe?) in 2, a supralinear bar = final ν in 3, and an iota adscript in 5 and an elaborate filler-stroke at the end of that line. Written in a script of severe style. The back is blank.

. . . . .  
 [Ελλαδος αλι]τηρη[ον]  
 [στεφανο]υν· αλλα και τον  
 [δαιμον]α και την τυχη(ν)  
 [την κυμ]παρακολουθου  
 5 [σαν τωι αν]θρωπωι φυλα >  
 [ξασθαι ου]τε γαρ πολις ου  
 . . . . .

3 τυχη̄

1 The mediaeval tradition attests ἀλιτήριον, and so Schultz; Blass-Schindel and Budé print ἀλειπήριον.

6 The only variant in the fragment, γὰρ πόλις, is attested by e h k l, followed by the editions of Brémi, Bekker and Dindorf.

SIMONA RUSSO

**4051.** AESCHINES *In Ctes.* 160–1

101/185(a)

6.6 × 18 cm

Late second century

Almost one complete column is preserved on this fragment from a papyrus roll. The upper margin measures 2 cm, the lower 3 cm. The column is narrow, the line length varying from 9–13 letters. Both the hand, a careful Biblical Uncial, and the format are similar to **4047** above containing *In Ctes.* 98. The back is blank.

There is a correction by the original hand, effected by a transverse bar and a supralinear insertion (3); there is another correction, this time the erroneous letter partly washed out (plus a supralinear insertion), by a different hand in 14. The scribe has tried to avoid hiatus, either by elision (14, 20 and 21, but not in 1) or by the use

of final *ν* (18). Diaeresis is employed over initial *ν* (14, 18). There are no accents, breathings or punctuation. Iota adscript is not used.

- [*ν*]ανδριας ηδη δε  
 [*εψ*]ηφικμενων  
 [*Θ*]ετ[*ι*<sup>τα</sup>]λων επι  
 στρατευειν ε  
 5 [*π*]ι την ημε[τε]  
 ραν πολιν κ[αι]  
 [*τ*]ου νεανικ[κου]  
 [*π*]αροξυνθει  
 τος το πρωτον  
 10 [*ει*]κοτως επ[ει]  
 [*δη*] περι Θηβα[ς]  
 ην το στρατο  
 πεδον πρεσβευ  
 [*τ*]ης υφ [*η*<sup>υ</sup>]μων  
 15 [*χ*]ειροτονηθει[ς]  
 αποδραις εκ με  
 σου του Κιθαι  
 ρωνος ηκεν υ  
 ποστρεψας ου  
 20 τ εν ειρηνη ου  
 τ εν πολεμ[ω]  
 χρησιμ[ο]ν εαν  
 τον π[αρεχων]  
 και το [παντων]

1 The final letters are reduced in size, but the line still projects to the right. Elsewhere (14, 20, 21) the writer employs elided forms.

5-6 *ἡμετέραν* with e g h k l z Fl, while Laur reads *ὑμετέραν* accepted by Blass-Schindel, Budé and Schultz.

8-9 *παροξυνθέντος τὸ πρῶτον*. See the table above, p. 56.

16 *αποδραις*. An obvious error for *ἀποδράς*, rather than a variant proper.

4052. AESCHINES *In Ctes.* 195–6

75/54(a)

7 × 10.6 cm

Late first or early second century

The ends of 17 lines, with minute traces from the line beginnings of the following column. The intercolumnium measures 1.5 cm. Line length ranges from 16–20 letters (in line 13, 15 letters plus a space).

There are no accents or breathings. There is a space serving as punctuation in 13. An interlinear correction in 12 is effected in a smaller script and paler ink, and is probably due to a different hand.

The text preserved on the papyrus, from 5 on, is transmitted also by P. Hamb. II 165 which has §§194–200 but is lacunose for the first part of §195. The two papyri present identical variants in two places.

The script is very informal with frequent ligatures. On the back the vertical fibres have mostly been stripped. There are no obvious traces of writing, except on a small glued-on repair patch where the fibres are in fact horizontal.

. . . . .

[ c. 14 letters ]. [3–4]  
 [των συγκατελ]θόντων  
 [αυτωι απ]ο Φυλης και ει  
 [λε νεωστ]ι γεγενημενων  
 5 [αυτωι των] ευεργεσιων  
 [ας ουχ υπε]λογίζοντο [οι]  
 [δικασται] ηγουντο γαρ  
 [ωσπερ τοτ]ε αυτους φευ  
 [γοντας Θρ]ακυβουλος α  
 10 [πο Φυλης κατ]ηγαγεν ου  
 [τω νυν μεν]οντας εξε  
 [λαυνειν γρα]φών<sup>ο τα</sup> τι παρα  
 [του]ς νομοις αλλ ο[υ]  
 [νυν αλλα π]αν τουνα[ν]  
 15 [τιον γιγνεται οι γ]αρ αγα  
 [θοι στρατηγοι υμι]ν και  
 [ c. 17 letters ].

. . . . .

2–3 MSS e h l read ἀπὸ Φυλῆς αὐτῷ συγκατελθόντων, accepted by Blass-Schindel and Budé.

6 The size of the lacuna indicates ὑπελογίζοντο with c Barb and P. Hamb. II. 165, against ἐλογίζοντο in d f q. Blass-Schindel and Budé have ὑπελογίσαντο. ὑπελογίσανθ' Schultz.



7 [δικασται] γγουντο. So Blass-Schindel, Budé, Schultz. P. Hamb. 165 has an interpolation, [δι]κασται αυτω γγουντο.

9-10 Θρ]ακυβουλος α[πο Φυλης. The papyrus changes the word order apparently uniformly transmitted by the mediaeval MSS and also by P. Hamb. 165. See the table above, p. 56.

12-13 The reading as corrected in the papyrus corresponds in word order with P. Hamb. 165 and e h k l, against παρὰ τοὺς νόμους γράφοντά τι in Blass-Schindel, Budé and Schultz. See the table above, p. 57. Because of the lacuna we cannot know if any attempt was made to restructure the sentence to accord with the (inadmissible) nominative γράφων. The correction is in a rougher script in a paler ink. There seems to have been a (wrong) attempt to delete τι in 12.

FEDERICO MORELLI

**4053.** *AESCHINES In Ctes.* 213-4, 215-6

34 4B.77/D(2-3)b

7.8 × 9.4 cm

Second or third century

The upper portion of two columns, with a surviving upper margin of 3.3 cm and an intercolumnium of 1.4 cm. The text lost in the lower part of col. i can be distributed in c. 25 lines with an average length of 18 letters, as in the preserved lines, to give a column height of c. 39 lines and a roll height of perhaps 24 cm.

There are two paragraphi, below i 1 and ii 9; there are several high stops. There is a *diple* line filler at the end of i 1, and a diaeresis in i 12. Elision is regularly used.

The hand is an example of the severe style, small and tight-packed. The form sometimes used for kappa is very individual, with a space between the upright and the arms. **4045** above, from earlier in the *In Ctesiphontem*, is almost certainly by the same writer. The number of lines per column is slightly different (45-7 against c. 39) so that it is difficult to know whether the two papyri represent one MS, but the inventory numbers indicate that they were found in the same (the fourth) season. There is a kollesis just before the line-ends of col. i. The back is blank.

The very end of the papyrus covers the same part of the oration as the beginning of **4054** below.

Col. i

διαγιγωσκειν· [ο] δ εστι >

κῶϊνον και δικαιον κα

τ αμφοτερων α[υ]των α

παγγειλαι προς υμας του

5 τ ερω· περιερχονται γαρ

κατα την αγοραν αλη

[θ]εις κατ αλληλων εχον

[τ]εξ δοξας· και λογ[ο]υς α

[ψ]ευδεις λεγο[ν]τες ο μεν

- 10 [γ]αρ Κτη[ς]ιφω[ν ο]υ το κα  
 [θ] ξαυτον φησι φοβεισθαι  
 [ελ]πιζειν γαρ δοξειν ἰ  
 [δι]ωτης φανησεσθαι  
 [αλ]λα την [τ]ου Δημ[οσθε]

## Col. ii

- νος δ[ημιουργος λογων]  
 ωστε [ουκ αποχρη αυτω]  
 ει τι π[επολιτευμαι παρ]  
 υμιν [εγω η ει τινας δη]  
 5 μηγ[οριας ειρηκα του]  
 των κ[ατηγορειν αλλα]  
 και τη[ν ηκυχιαν αυτην του]  
 βιου δ[ιαβαλλει και της ci]  
 ωπης μ[ου κατηγορει ινα]  
 10 δε μηδ[εις αυτω τοπος α]  
 κυκοφ[αντητος παρα]  
 λειπητ[αι και τας εν τοις]  
 γυμνα[σιοις μετα των]

- 6 κατὰ τήν. The papyrus supports the reading of e h k, accepted by Schultz. See the table above, p. 57.  
 8–9 ἀψευδεῖς. Apparently a *lectio singularis*, against the uniform transmission of οὐ ψευδεῖς. ἀψευδής is found in *In Tim.* 127 with reference to φήμη.  
 9 A high stop has probably been lost in the space after λέγοντες.  
 13 φανήσεσθαι is a *lectio singularis*. No other variant from εἶναι in the MSS appears to have been recorded.

## Col. ii

- 10 δε is an addition to the text apparently nowhere else attested.  
 12–13 This part of the speech is also recorded by 4054 below.

VITTORIA BARONCELLI

4054. AESCHINES *In Ctes.* 216–7

32 4B.7/E(1)

3.1 × 9.7 cm

Second or third century

A fragment with 18 lines, somewhat abraded, with the upper margin only (1.6 cm). The line length as restored ranges from 21–25 letters. Establishing the point

of line break is hazardous, and the arrangement transcribed must be only one of several possibilities.

Written in a spiky and strongly-angled severe style. A high point is used three times (8, 10, 12), by the original scribe. The back is blank.

The very beginning of the papyrus covers the same part of the oration as the end of **4053** above.

[τοσ κα]ταλείπηται[ι και τας εν]  
 [τοις γ]υμνασίοις μ[ετα των νεω]  
 [τερων] μου διατρι[βας καταμεμ]  
 [φετα]ι και κατα τηςδ[ε της κρισε]  
 5 [ως ευθ]υς αρχομενο[ς του λογου]  
 [φερει τ]ινα αιτιαν [λεγων ως]  
 [εγω την γ]ραφην ουχ [υπερ της πο]  
 [λεως εγραψ]αμην· αλ[λ ενδεικ]  
 [νυμενος Α]λεξανδρ[ω δια την]  
 10 [προς αυτ]ον εχθραν· [και νη Δι]  
 [ως εγω π]υνθανομαι [μελλει]  
 [μ ανερω]ταν· δια τι το μ[εν κε]  
 [φαλαιον] αυτου της πολ[ιτει]  
 [ας ψεγω] τα δε καθ εκας[τον ουκ]  
 15 [εκωλυον ο]υδ εγραφ[ομην αλλα]  
 [διαλείπω]ν και πρ[ος την πολι]  
 [τειαν ου πυ]κνα πρ[οσιων απη]  
 [νεγκα την γρ]αφη[ν εγω δ ουτε]

1 For καταλείπηται see the table above, p. 57. This appears to be a variant unrecorded elsewhere. **4053** above is lacunose at this point.

VITTORIA BARONCELLI

**4055.** AESCHINES *In Ctes.* 87-92, 94, 220, 223-5, 229, 233-4, 240, 242, 248-9, 252

88/J.4B

(fr. c) 7.5 × 11 cm

Third century?

Numerous fragments survive from this elegantly written manuscript, scattered across two thirds of the speech. The hand is a distinctive upright version of the severe style, serified and of a good size.

The first seven fragments ((a)–(g), themselves in part assembled from what had been many small separate pieces) can be distributed with reasonable assurance over seven columns, covering §§87–94. A column contained approximately 11 lines of text as printed in the Teubner edition (col. iii, the best preserved, had 28 lines averaging 15–16 letters in length). Beyond this, the fragments are much more scattered; they represent portions of §§220–252, with substantial gaps.

We use separate line numbering for the separate fragments, except for (c) + (d) since we can reconstitute the column, and for (q) + (r) which overlap and virtually join.

Several pieces preserve upper, lower or side margins, but only in col. iii (= fr. (c) + (d)) are parts of all four preserved, giving a column height of c. 18 cm and width of c. 5.5 cm. The upper margin measures at least 2.3 cm (and contains fragmentary marginal notes in a second hand in col. iii), the lower at least 1.1 cm, and average space between columns is at least 1.8 cm. The overall roll height must have been at least 21.4 cm.

Profiting from the useful word count for the speech in the TLG *Canon* (19,171 words), and dividing that by a rough estimate of the number of words per column in **4055** (3 words per line × 28 lines = 84), we emerge with an estimate of 228 columns, which would require 17 metres of papyrus.

Lectional signs surviving are high points in a number of places ((b)2, 5; (c)11; (h)2; (j)3; (m)2; (p)6; (q) + (r)7), and a possible low stop in (t)4. There are occasional line fillers of > form, and paragraphi at section changes (224/225 on fr. (j), 252/253 on fr. (t)). There are marginal marks at (c)3 and (j)7, the latter coinciding with the 224/225 paragraphus. The writer uses iota adscript consistently, as far as the papyrus text is preserved. There are remains of two kolleseis, in the margin of fr. (e) and on fr. (j) between κ and ε in 2 (the column leans strongly to the right, so that progressively more letters lie to the left of the kollesis).

The back is blank.

We would like to acknowledge generous assistance from Professor W. H. Willis in helping us to place fragments in the early stages of our work.

#### Col. i

	·     ·     ·     ·     ·     ·     ·	
Fr. (a)	Φιλίπ]που δὲ ν[αμιν	§87
	προσμε]ταπεμ[ψαμενος	
	] . . . [	
	·     ·     ·     ·     ·     ·     ·	

The Teubner text will fit the remains, as far as they go. It would be difficult and fruitless to attempt to establish the point of line break. This passage occurs in P. Mil. Vogl. II 41 (see J. Lenaerts, *Misc. Pap.* (= *Pap. Flor* XIX) II 339).

## Col. ii

Fr. (b) [ c. 12 ] . [ c. 3 ]  
 [ c. 6 ] η πολικ· ον [γαρ] §88  
 [το δυστ]υχησαι κ[ατα]  
 [πολεμον] εστι δ. . . . .  
 5 [ c. 7 ] . . ι . ον· αλ  
 [λ οταν τις προς] αντα  
 [γωνιστας ανα]ξιους  
 [αυτου διακι]νδυ  
 . . . . .  
 (c. 6 lines lost to foot of column)

This fragment had at least a transposed word order (line 2), now lost to us, and has the badly damaged remains of a very different wording in 4-5.

1 The lower part of a loop, as ε, θ, ο, c.

2 ] η πολικ· shows clearly that the word order differed from that in Blass-Schindel (and Schultz and the Budé edition), but it is less clear what element has been transposed.

4-5 The papyrus text here differed substantially from Blass-Schindel (μέγιστόν ἐστι κακόν), but I am at a loss to suggest what was written. The damaged parts of both 4 and 5 might be read as δεινόν, which is not very illuminating.

## Col. iii

Fr. (c) [μης] παρ υμων K[αλλι] §89  
 ας ο Χαλκιδευσ μικρ[ον]  
 > διαλιπων χρονον πα  
 λιν ηκε φερομενος  
 5 εις την αυτου φυσιν  
 Ευβοϊκον μεν τωι [λο]  
 [γ]ωι συνεδριον [εις Χαλ]  
 κιδα συναγαγ[ων ιςχυ]  
 ραν δε την Ευβο[ιαν]  
 10 εφ υμας ερ<γ>ωι πα[ρα]  
 κκευαζων· εξα[ιρε]  
 το[ν δ] αυτ[ωι] τυρ[αν]  
 [νιδα π]εριπ[οιουμε]  
 [νος καν]τα[υθα ελπι]  
 15 [ζων συναγωνιστην]



- Fr. (d) [Φιλιππον λη]ψ[εσθαι]  
 [απηλθεν εις M]ακ[εδο]  
 [νιαν και περιη]ει μ[ε]  
 [τα Φιλιππου] και τω[ν]  
 20 [εταιρων εις] ωνο[μα]  
 [ζετο αδ]ικησα[ς δε]  
 [Φιλιππον] κακε[ι]θε[ν]  
 [αποδρας υπε]βαλεν  
 [αυτον φερω]ν Θηβαι  
 25 [οις εγκαταλ]ιπων δε  
 [κακεινους] και πλε[ι]  
 [ους τροπας] τρεπομε  
 [νος του Ευρι]που πα >

1 The upper margin must once have been considerably deeper than the 2.3 cm preserved here. There are remains of marginal notes here, in a second hand, roughly centrally over the column, broken off above and on the left:

· · · · ·  
 ]ερ[  
 ]μεν [

The notes are in a rough sloping hand, much smaller than the script of the main text. There are 1.6 cm of clear margin between these notes and the text.

[μης] παρ υμων K[. There is obviously a change in word order compared with the Teubner text; the lacuna requires three letters, which will fit perfectly the end of *συγγνώμης* transposed to this earlier position by the MSS e k l (see Schultz' apparatus).

8 *συναγαγ[ων]* is sufficient to show that the papyrus attested the reading of the MSS e k l.

10 Omission of gamma is plainly a writing error.

10–11 Blass-Schindel's *κατασκευάζων* is apparently a conjecture without MS support.

25 *ἐγκαταλιπών* is apparently the universal reading in the MSS, and is retained in the Budé edition. Blass-Schindel's *καταλιπών* goes back to a conjecture of Franke, and is followed by Schultz and Weidner.

27 Insertion of *τροπας* in the lacuna here is conjectural, but there is no room for it in the lacuna before *τοῦ Εὐρί]που* in 28, the position where all the modern editions put it. There does not appear to be any MS support for it in the position conjectured for the papyrus, but note the word order in the citations in Blass-Schindel's apparatus (Dio Cass. XLVI, 3 and Lucian. *de mort. Peregr.* 1).

27–8 *τρεπομε[νος]*. The MSS offer a wide range of readings (*τραπόμενος*. Blass-Schindel, also Schultz and the Budé edition), but only h comes close to the papyrus, with its corrected *τρέπόμενος*. Cf. Dio Cass. XLVI, 3 as cited in Blass-Schindel's apparatus.

(Col. iv missing)

## Col. v

Fr. (e) [ c. 11 ] Φι > §91  
 [λιππου και Θη]βαι  
 [ων δευτε]ρον δ ηκον  
 [οι μισθοι τ]ωι γρα[ > ]  
 5 [ψαντι τη]ν κυμμ[α]  
 [χιαν υπερ] του [μη]

This fragment covers the same stretch of text as **4046** verso, and like it shows no variations from the text as given by Blass-Schindel, except that likewise we retain the aorist termination γράψαντι of the MSS in the lacuna in 5, against Schultz' conjectured γράψοντι; cf. **4046** verso 5–6 n.

4 γρα[ > ]. I calculate that the word must have been divided at this point; nevertheless this leaves a short line, and a filler mark seems likely (cf. 1, and fr. (c) 28).

## Col. vi

Fr. (f) ]. [ §92  
 κα]ι Χαλ[κιδεας  
 βοηθει]ν εαν [  
 Αθην]αι[ους  
 5 ]. [

This small scrap is too restricted to be of textual value, other than indicating a preference for κα]ι Χαλ[κιδεας (]ς cannot be read) in 2, with e k l z m g and Flor. (and Blass-Schindel, Budé) against Χαλκιδέας (om. καί) followed by Schultz.

Attempts to establish the lateral position of the fragment in the column would be too hazardous to be worthwhile, and I only restore words that survive in part.

## Col. vii

Fr. (g) υ]βρε[ωσ §94  
 πλεονε]ξια[ς  
 ] δε ον [

No points of textual interest. As with fr. (f), we refrain from over-restoration.

Frr. (h)–(t)

The remaining frr. all belong much later in the speech, and are more widely scattered than the earlier group. We can calculate backwards from frr. (j) + (k) (which must have belonged to one column) that fr. (h) was probably located towards the top of its column.

Fr. (h)

· · · · ·  
 [φ€] ροντοϛ αν[δ] ρ[οϛ πο] §220  
 [λι] τενομενου· το [δ€]  
 [μηδ] €μι[α] ν παρα[λει]  
 [πειν ημεραν] €ρ[γα]  
 · · · · ·

The remains will accord perfectly with Blass-Schindel's text. The lateral placing is not certain; an alternative position is possible, transferring 2–3 letters to the beginning of the line following. Lines 2–4 would then preserve the line ends, although this is clearly not apparent on the papyrus itself.

2 The high point may be an addition; there is no spacing allowed for it.

Fr. (i)

This small piece should be located near the foot of the column following fr. (h); see the introd. to that piece.

· · · · ·  
 €αντ[ι αλλα τοιϛ €πε] §223  
 €ιοϕ[€ι πολυν μ€ν]  
 τον Α[λεξανδρον και]  
 τον Φ[ιλιππον €ν ταιϛ]  
 · · · · ·

The remains will accord with Blass-Schindel's text. The only uncertainty is in the beginning of 4, but the traces are too damaged to admit assertion of the presence of a variant.

(One column lost.)

Frr. (j) + (k)

These two fragments must belong to the same column. Approximately five lines must have been lost at the top (frr. (c) + (d) = col. iii above had 28 lines) and c. 6 lines are missing between the two pieces. Up to 1.5 cm of the left margin are preserved (j) with no traces of line ends from the preceding column, and 1.1 cm of the lower margin (k).

· · · · ·  
 Fr. (j) μ[ §224  
 €ξ[ c. 7 €κκλη€ι]  
 αν· €[φη€θα γαρ τους της]  
 πολ[€ωϛ αλαϛ περι πλει]  
 5 ονος [ποιη€α€θαι της €€]  
 νι[κης τραπεζης €]

. . . π[ι]ς[τολας δε ciγω ψευ] §225  
 δ[ε]ι[ς και κατασκοπων]  
 κυλ[ληψεις και βασα]  
 10 νου[ς επ αιτιαις. ως ε]  
 μου[ ]  
 . . . . .  
 (c. 6 lines lost)

Fr. (k) [νουντι] μη[δεν κυμ]  
 [βουλευ]οι τε[λευτησαν]  
 [τος δε ελ]θων [εις τα ε]  
 [νατα δ]ιεξιοι προ[ς]  
 5 [τους οι]κειους α επ[ι]  
 [τηδευας υγ]ιης αν ε

Fr. (j) 1 μ[ might be from δῆμος, §224.12 in Blass-Schindel, but is best left unrestored given the uncertainty over the text at 2 here.

2 κε[. A puzzle. These letters (ε is damaged but reasonably secure) do not occur in Blass-Schindel's text at this point (calculating backwards from firm ground in 3), nor have I found a variant MS reading that contains them.

3 The punctuation is contemporary, space being allowed for it.

5 The papyrus may have had ποιείσθαι (so Schultz and Weidner, with h k l) instead of ποιήσασθαι (Blass-Schindel, Budé), which would give a slightly shorter line.

8 δ[ε]ι[ς. This seems to be the only point at which one can begin a new line in the text as transmitted by the MSS, though the minute initial trace seems ill adapted to δ. Possibly it should be ignored as stray ink (it lies slightly in the margin), allowing us to transcribe [δ]ε[ις.

10 A dot of ink immediately to the left of and below initial ν: accidental?

The line if transcribed following Blass-Schindel's text would be far too long, and the papyrus must have had a shorter wording than that transmitted by the mediaeval MSS. The simplest adjustment would be the omission of ἀγενήτοις.

The lateral placing of fr. (k) within the column is conjectural. The position transcribed results in the last trace in 6 being the last letter of the line; of course, no indication survives on the papyrus itself that this is the end of the line.

Fr. (k), as far as preserved, will accord perfectly with Blass-Schindel's text.

Fr. (l) κατη]γορο[ν §229  
 ]κα[ι  
 εππραγμ]ενα [  
 παριστ]ανα[ι  
 5 ]ως δ. [  
 ] εξ ο[νοματων





5 [θουσαν] δυνασαι παρα  
[μυθεις]θαι· γραψας δε  
[μικθου ψ]ηφισμα ου[κ]

Fr. (o) 3 We restore ποιησαι in the lacuna, apparently the universal reading in the mediaeval MSS; Blass-Schindel's ποιήσῃ is a conjecture.

A low dot of ink between ω and K.

Fr. (p) 2-3 φήσεις μὴ δύναιθαι is apparently a novel reading; Blass-Schindel's text has οὐ φήσεις δύναιθαι, along with Schultz and the Budé edition.

3 εἶτα is apparently another novel reading, against ἐπειτα elsewhere.

A low dot of ink between ν and ν.

6 Punctuation probably added.

Frr. (q) + (r)

There is a 2 mm gap between the fragments. For the purposes of transcription we treat them as one. No margins are preserved. We do not attempt to place the fragments laterally in the column, and only restore the words that are partly preserved. The text of the fragments will accord with Blass-Schindel's edition, as far as it is preserved. Fr. (s) might have come in the same column.

· · · · ·  
ον]ομ[α §248  
] μες[ωι  
] αυτ[α  
] τω[ι  
5 ] πολυ [·  
] πλει[ς]τ[ον  
απεχοντε]ς· οτα[ν §249  
ρ]ητορ[α  
· · · · ·

7 Form of τ of ὅταν is odd; possibly the writer made the top left stroke of ν (οὐν follows) before correcting himself.

Fr. (s)

Possibly from the same column as frr. (q) + (r) above.

· · · · ·  
] . . . [  
] διαφευ[γουσης §249  
· · · · ·

1 The feet of letters only, too ambiguous for certain identification.

Fr. (t)

This fragment offers two, and possibly once three, variants from Blass-Schindel's text: the retention of αἱ ψῆφοι αὐτῶ (with Harpocration, Suidas, Schultz and the Budé edition), bracketed by Blass-Schindel and

deleted by Weidner; it attests *καὶ ἀπέθανεν* (5), with Harpocration and Suidas again, and Photius, and Benseler, against ἡ ἀπέθανεν of (apparently) all the mediaeval MSS, and the Budé edition; the latter wording is bracketed by Blass-Schindel and the expression is omitted altogether by Schultz and Weidner. Finally, we restore *μόνον* in 3, apparently the reading in all the mediaeval MSS and accepted by Schultz, against *ψῆφος* in Blass-Schindel's edition (also Weidner and Budé) drawn from Harpocration and Suidas. In view of the ancient testimony, it is particularly to be regretted that this part of the papyrus is lost.

. . . . .

[ . . ] . [ . ] . . [ c. 6    αι ψη]                    §252

φοι αυτω[ι εγενοντο]

ει δε μια [μονον μετε]

πεσεν υπ[ερωριστ αν]

5    και απεθ[ανεν]

. . . . .

1 The first ink marks visible on the papyrus are seepage through on to vertical fibres.

4 A low dot of ink after *πεσεν*: punctuation, or accidental? There are low dots that may be accidental elsewhere, see (j)10, (o)3, (p)3.

5 The paragraphus below the line marks the beginning of §253.

## V. DOCUMENTS OF THE ROMAN AND BYZANTINE PERIODS

### 4056. RECEIPTS FOR REFUND OF THE PRICE OF *πυρὸς συναγοραστικός*

A 13/2 (16 Feb 71)

14 × 18 cm

154/5?

From a *τόμος συγκολλήσιμος*: a group of persons acknowledges on oath to the strategus the receipt from the state bankers of the price of the individual amounts of *πυρὸς συναγοραστικός*, compulsorily purchased wheat contributed by themselves. For this institution see XLI **2958–2968**, XLVII **3335** and LVII **3910**, and **4063–5** below. **2962–3** and **2965–7** are parallels for the type of the present document, addressed to the strategus, although the format is somewhat different. They are also nearly contemporary, relating to a levy on the harvest of the year before (ordered by the same prefect, see 9–10 n.), and document the same price level (see 17 n.).

The setting of the text is the Prosopite nome, not the Oxyrhynchite. Both the strategus (Ptolemaeus) and the royal scribe (Protarchus) are additions to the scanty listings for that nome; see G. Bastianini and J. Whitehorne, *Strategi and Royal Scribes* 108, 145–6. Neither has known neighbours anywhere near enough to define his term of office. Conceivably Ptolemaeus was an Oxyrhynchite and brought this text (and others? cf. **4057**) home with him.

No precise date survives. The text must postdate the harvest of the 17th year of Antoninus (153/4), and a date in 154/5 is therefore likely; but refunding could be substantially delayed. A limit is supplied by the re-use of the back (see below) still during the reign of Antoninus. Our information on the chronology of the prefects (see 9–10 n.) does not help to refine the date any further.

Fragments survive from the adjoining texts on each side. Their content was parallel as far as can be seen, although the first item seems to have been differently worded in part. We do not print their texts here. Two small detached scraps have not been certainly placed; they may possibly belong to the first item. The writing is different in each of the three items. The names in 20 ff. in the middle item (published here) are probably in a hand (or hands?) different from 1–19. It is not clear if 1–19 are indeed all by the same hand; the appearance of the writing changes subtly in the course of 18, but this may be due to a change of pen.

On the back are the much damaged remains of a declaration of the property of a deceased person; the death occurred in the past *n*th year of Antoninus.

Πτολεμαίῳ στρατηγῶ Προσω(πείτου).  
 οἱ ὑπογεγραμ(μένοι) ὁμνύομεν Αὐτοκράτορα  
 Καίσαρα Τίτον Αἴλιον Ἀδριανὸν  
 [. . .] ντωνεῖνου Σεβαστὸν  
 5 Εὐσεβῆν ἀνειρήσθ(αι) παρὰ  
 Ἡρακλείδου καὶ Ἀπολλωνίου  
 βασιλ(ικῶν) τρα(πεζιτῶν) ἀπὸ λόγου διοικήσεως  
 ὑπὲρ τειμῆς πυροῦ κελευσθ(έντος) συνα-  
 γορασθ(ῆναι) ἐν τῷ νομῷ ὑπὸ Μουν[α-]  
 10 τίου Φήλικος τοῦ ἡγεμονεύσαν(τος)  
 καὶ δηλωθ(έντος) μεμετ(ρήσθαι) ὑφ' ἡμῶν ἀπὸ  
 γενήματος ιζ (ἔτους) Ἀντωνίνου  
 Καίσαρος τοῦ κυρίου ἀκολουθ(ως)  
 τῷ ἐπιστάλ(ματι) ἐπισταλ(έντι) ὑπὸ σοῦ  
 15 καὶ Πρωτάρχου βασιλ(ικοῦ) γραμ(ματέως) οὗ  
 ἕκαστος ἡμῶν ἐμέτρησεν πυρρ[οῦ]  
 ὡς τῆς (ἀρτάβης) ἐκ (δραχμῶν) η μη(δενός) ὑπολογηθ(έντος)  
 ὀνόματι (ἐκατοστῶν) ἢ ἄλλου τινος.  
 \_\_\_\_\_ ἐς μὲν δέ·  
 20 (m. 2?) Φε[ c. 8 ]υ Φερωνούθεως  
 . [ c. 12 ] (ἀρτάβας) ηLd'  
 [ c. 15 ] . . . . υ . . του υἱοῦ

1 προσω  
 ανειρηςθ; 1. ανηρησθαι  
 note 11 δηλωθμετ 12 ιζ 13 ακολουθ 14 επισταλ 15 βασιλγραμ  
 17 ο, ζ, μη)? υπολογη 18 π 21 Initial trace may belong to the beginning of 22; ο

‘To Ptolemaeus, strategus of the Prosopite.

‘We the undersigned swear by Imperator Caesar Titus Aelius Hadrianus Antoninus Augustus Pius that we have received from Heraclides and Apollonius, royal bankers, in accordance with instructions sent by you and Protarchus, royal scribe, from the account of the department of the dioecetes, for the price of wheat ordered by Munatius Felix, former prefect, to be compulsorily purchased in the nome, and shown to have been delivered by us from the produce of the 17th year of Antoninus Caesar the lord, for the wheat which each of us delivered at 8 dr. the art. without deduction under the heading of percentage taxes or anything else, as follows:

‘Phe—... Pheroüthis... art. 8 $\frac{3}{4}$ . ...’

4 There must be an error at the beginning of the line, surprisingly (and the more so with this name) since this text is otherwise well written. First surviving trace resembles an ι or possibly the right vertical of ν. The false genitive termination is also surprising.

9–10 For Munatius Felix, *praefectus Aegypti*, see G. Bastianini, *ZPE* 17 (1975) 291–2 and 38 (1980) 82. The levy on the previous year's harvest was also made on his orders as **2961–3** attest. Here he has gone out of office in the interval between the order being given and the present acknowledgement of refund (in 154/5? see introd.), but no new chronological information can be derived from this; his successor (Sempronius Liberalis) was already known to have been in office by 29 August 154.

10 ἡγεμονεύσαν(τος). –σαν runs right to the (original) edge of the papyrus sheet; there was certainly no room for τος to be written out, and no trace of a raised τ (–σαν<sup>τ</sup>) survives.

14–15 Just such an ἐπίσταλμα has survived in **4059** below, from the Oxyrhynchite strategus Phocion in association with the royal scribe to the δημοσίων τραπεζίται.

17 For this price, 8 dr./art., in refunding πυρὸς συναγοραστικός cf. the nearly contemporary **2961–7**. It is of interest that the same rate prevails in two different nomes, although **2961–7** refer to the preceding year, which could invalidate the comparison.

18 (ἐκατοστῶν). For percentage deductions (commonly 6½%) in comparable circumstances see XLIV **3194** 10 n.; note also LIV **3758** 21 n.

20 Φερωοῦθις may be a toponym rather than a patronymic; if so, given the size of the lacuna, it is far from clear how the line could have run.

REVEL COLES

#### 4057. REPORT TO THE STRATEGUS

46 5B.53/E(1–2)β

7 × 8.5 cm

154/5?

This fragment preserves the upper left corner of a report to the strategus from the πράκτορες σιτικῶν, the collectors of corn dues. Its main interest lies in the identity of its addressee, the strategus Ptolemaeus. One would naturally suppose this text to concern the Oxyrhynchite nome but nothing in the content confirms this and 4 (see n.) may argue against it. There is a reference to the produce of the 17th year of Antoninus (6), i.e. 153/4, and the papyrus may well date from the following year, 154/5. Apart from the uncertain IV **800**, no Ptolemaeus is attested in this office at Oxyrhynchus near this date. **800**, re-edited by A. Martin in *CE* 54 (1979) 131–3, like the present text attests a strategus Ptolemaeus without any surviving indication of his nome, and mentions the 16th year of Antoninus (= 152/3), but the papyrus must date to 154 or later, since Munatius Felix is ex-prefect (he is last precisely attested in office on 28 February while his successor Liberalis was in office by 29 August, 154: G. Bastianini, *ZPE* 17 (1975) 291–2). Alain Martin had hesitated at an Oxyrhynchite attribution and allowed that he might be an Oxyrhynchite holding office elsewhere. (The Arsinoite tenures of Ptolemaeus, royal scribe and acting-strategus, which Martin cites ought however to be different from Ptolemaeus' tenure as strategus in **800**.) **4056** now attests a Ptolemaeus as strategus of the Prosopite at much the same date. We cannot be



certain on present evidence, but it is at least a possibility that all three texts (**800** and **4056-7**) refer to the same Ptolemaeus, strategus of the Prosopite, an Oxyrhynchite who returned home bringing these papers with him.

Written along the fibres; on the back, two traces at one edge may be line ends (across the fibres) if not accidental.

Πτολεμαίωι στρατηγῶι [ c. 11 ]  
 παρὰ Ἀρποκρατίωνος κ[αί? c. 10 ]  
 πρακτόρων σιτικῶν [ c. 13 ]  
 Χενθνουφείτου Φερ. [ c. 12 ]  
 5 κατ' ἄνδρα ἐχθεσεω. [ c. 13 ]  
 γενήματος ιζ (ἔτους) Ἀντω[νίνου Καίσαρος]  
 τοῦ κυρίου (vac.) [

5 End of line obscured by correction or blot 6 ιζ

1-5 The calculation of the numbers of letters lost is based on line 6. In 1 there is a gap before στρατηγῶι, and there was probably a gap after it. In theory this would reduce the letter count, but of course the right margin would not have been as rigid as that.

4 I have not identified the place name(s) here elsewhere. The very novelty of Χενθνουφείτου could be taken as evidence in favour of the document not having been written in the Oxyrhynchite nome; cf. the introd. above. Φερ. [ could suggest Φεργ[ουφείτου (ν is perhaps possible), but a reference to a Mendesian toparchy (cf. XLIV **3205**; S. Kambitsis, *Le Papyrus Thmouis* 1 p. 49) is less attractive than would be a reference to the possible toponym Φερωούθις (cf. **4056**) if we are right in seeking a Prosopite origin for this text. Nevertheless I am not sure that Φερω[ is palaeographically acceptable. φερ. [, simply, is also possible, of course; a place name is not compelling.

REVEL COLES

#### 4058. OFFICIAL CORRESPONDENCE

26 3B.51/F(3-7)c

9.8 × 19.3 cm

158/9

The royal scribe of the Oxyrhynchite nome writes to his colleague in the Theban Oasis, rehearsing the gist of a petition he had received regarding a boy slave. The slave was seven years old, and had been sold at least three times in his short life. One of these transactions took place in the Theban Oasis, hence presumably the present involvement of the royal scribe there. The new buyer, who came from the Small Oasis, took the boy immediately to Oxyrhynchus and resold him there to his present owner the petitioner.

The text is interesting prosopographically: besides the writer Nilus alias Theon, royal scribe of the Oxyrhynchite (see 2 n.) and the addressee Pompyllius (= Pompilius) Eudaemon, royal scribe of the Theban Oasis (see 3 n.), the petitioner is Theagenes alias Ladicens, a former city scribe known from elsewhere (see 6 n.).

The papyrus breaks off before we learn the reason for Theagenes' petition. Our text is a copy of the royal scribe's letter (it proclaims itself an *ἀντίγραφον*, 1) and thus remained in Oxyrhynchus. The back is blank.

ἀντίγρ[α]φον.

Νεῖλος ὁ καὶ Θέων βασιλ(ικὸς) γρ(αμματεὺς) Ὁξυρυγχ(ίτου)

Πομπυλλίῳ Εὐδαίμονι βασιλ(ικῷ)

γρ[(αμματεῖ)] Ὁάσεως Θηβαΐδος τῷ

5 φιλτάτῳ χαίρειν.

Θεαγένης ὁ καὶ Λαδικηνὸς Θεαγέ-

νους ἀπ' Ὁξυρύγχων πόλεως ἐπέδω-

κέ μοι β[ιβλ]ίδιον δηλῶν ἀπο-

γεγράφ[θαι αὐτ]ὸν παρὰ τῷ τῆς μη-

10 τροπό[λεως τ]ῶν ἐνθάδε γρ(αμματεῖ)

ὃν φη[σιν ἡγ]ορακεῖναι κατὰ χρη(ματισμὸν)

διὰ τοῦ [ἐνθά]δε ἀγορανομείου τῷ

Φαμεν[ὡθ το]ῦ διελθόντος κα (ἔτους)

παρὰ . [ 4-5 ] . c Ψεν[νοβάστιος] ἀνούβιος' τοῦ

15 Παθ. [ . . . μη]τρὸς Τανααβίνιος

ἀπὸ . [ c. 4 τ]ῆς Μεικρᾶς Ὁάσεως

δοῦλο[ν Ἐπα]φρόδειτον ὄντα [[πρὸς]] 'εἰς'

τὸ ἐν[εστὸς] κβ (ἔτος) (ἐτῶν) ζ ὥς καὶ ὑπ' αὐ-

τοῦ ἀγορασθέντα κατὰ χρηματισμ(όν)

20 διὰ γραφ[ε]ί[ου] Τριμείθεως τῆς ὑπὸ

σοὶ Ὁά[σεως τ]ῷ Μεχεῖρ τοῦ διελθ(όντος)

κα (ἔτους) π[αρὰ Ψε]νοβάστιος Τιθοέως

Ψεν. [ 3-4 ] c μητρὸς Τσενήσιος

ἀπὸ τῇ[ς αὐτῇ] c Τριμείθ(εως) ἀγορασθ(έντα)

25 καὶ ὑ[π' αὐτοῦ] κατὰ χιρόγραφον τῷ

ις (ἔτει) Ἀ[ντωνίνο]ν Καίσαρος τ[οῦ] κυρίου

[ . . . ] . [ c. 9 ] . [ . . . ] . [ c. 7 ] .

2 βασι<sup>λ</sup>γρξοξυρυγ<sup>λ</sup> 3 βασι<sup>λ</sup> 10 γρξ 11 χρῆ— 13 κας 16 l. Μικράς  
 17 l. Ἐπαφρόδιτον 18 κβξLζ 19 χρηματισ<sup>μ</sup> 20 l. Τριμίθεωσ 21 διελ<sup>θ</sup> 22 κας;  
 l. Τιθοέουσ 24 τριμει<sup>θ</sup>; l. Τριμίθ(εωσ); αγορασ<sup>θ</sup> 25 l. χειρόγραφον 26 ις

‘Copy.’

‘Nilus alias Theon, royal scribe of the Oxyrhynchite, to Pompyllius Eudaemon, royal scribe of the Oasis of the Thebaid, his dearest colleague, greetings.’

‘Theagenes alias Ladicenous, son of Theagenes, from the city of the Oxyrhynchi, presented a petition to me showing that he had registered with the scribe of the metropolis of the persons here the slave Epaphroditus whom he says he bought in accordance with a deed through the office of the agoranomus here in the (month of) Phamenoth of the past 21st year from x son of Psenanubis and Tanaabinis and grandson of Path— from x in the Small Oasis, being 7 years old in the present 22nd year, as bought by him in accordance with a deed through the record office of Trimithis in the Oasis under your control in the (month of) Mecheir of the past 21st year from Psenobastis son of Tithoes and Tsenesis and grandson of Psen— from the same Trimithis, and bought by him in accordance with a contract in the 16th year of Antoninus Caesar the lord ...’

2 Nilus alias Theon, royal scribe, was already attested by P. Laur. III 63.1 (March/April 159), but with only the second part of his name preserved: G. Bastianini and J. Whitehorne, *Strategi and Royal Scribes* (= *Pap. Flor.* XV) 143. The identity of his predecessor is not certain. His successor may have been Domitius Apollonius in office between 159–163, evidenced by **4059** and **4061** below.

3 Pompyllius (=Pompilius) Eudaemon, royal scribe of the Theban Oasis, is new. Only one other holder of this office has been published, the first-century Soter in P. Lugd.-Bat. XIII 21.

4 Ὅάσεωσ Θεβαΐδος. Cf. 20–21. For bibliography on the two Oases mentioned in this text (see 16 here for the Small Oasis) see A. Calderini—S. Daris, *Diz. Geogr.* III 378–380; add G. Wagner, *Les Oases d’Égypte* (Cairo, 1987).

6 For Theagenes alias Ladicenous see P. Harr. II 191 (152/3?), 1–2 n., citing XXXI **2564** (154) and XLIV **3169**. The other references name him Theogenes, and **3169** names him Laodicenous. In **2564** he was γραμματεὺς πόλεωσ. In the present text he is a private citizen, as far as can be seen; indeed he registers his slave with one of his own successors in the office, at a date (shortly?) after Phamenoth (Feb.–March) 158.

13 Φαμενώθ. Here 25 February–26 March 158.

16 See 4 n.

20 Τριμίθεωσ (=Τριμίθεωσ). Cf. 24. See U. Wilcken, *Arch. f. Pap.* IV (1907/8) 478–9; H. Kees, *RE* VIIA 157; Calderini—Daris, *Diz. Geogr.* V 30.

21 Μεχείρ. Here 26 January–24 February 158; the boy was resold the following month, see 13.

26 16 Antoninus=152/3. The slave would have been just a year old. Obviously no other emperor’s name (e.g. Hadrian) could be restored here.

REVEL COLES

#### 4059. OFFICIAL CORRESPONDENCE

26 3B.51/F(3–7)a

26.7 × 5.1 cm

Between 159 and 163

A horizontal strip with parts of three items from a τόμος συγκολλησίμος. The first item is an order from Phocion, strategus of the Oxyrhynchite (see **4060** 40 n.), to the

state bankers to make a payment to some persons who had been nominated to a liturgy, as we learn from the second item where the three persons involved make a declaration or application. The third item was an order to the bankers similar to the first item, and perhaps the 'file' consisted of orders to the bankers by Phocion interleaved as it were with the relevant documentation. The hand is different in each item, and the backs are blank throughout. Apart from the joins in making the *τόμος*, there is an original manufacturer's kollesis three-quarters of the way across col. i (through *ω* of *δημοσίων* in 1).

The second item lacks any addressee's name at the top. I suspect that the more or less horizontal top edge of the papyrus represents the original top edge of the roll (unlike XLVI 3276–3284 for example). The narrow top margin of the second item suggests that it was trimmed to fit; the addressee's name may have been trimmed off, or this item is a copy which was never headed by an addressee's name anyway.

Besides Phocion, the papyrus supplies the name of a new Oxyrhynchite royal scribe, Domitius Apollonius. The text cannot be dated other than loosely by the known dates for Phocion, i.e. 159–161 (see 4060 40 n.), limited at the beginning by the prosopography of the royal scribes. Domitius Apollonius may be the direct successor of Nilus alias Theon still in office in March–April 159 (P. Laur. III 63.1), for whom see 4058 2 n. above. Domitius Apollonius was probably still in office on 30 July 163, see 4061 below. The next certain holder of the office after him is Dionysius, royal scribe and acting strategus on 19 April 165 (XVIII 2182).

## Col. i

αργ( ) traces

1 Φωκίων στρατηγὸς Ὁξυρυγχείτου δημοσίων τραπεζείταιι  
 τοῦ αὐτοῦ νομοῦ χαίρειν. ἐξοδιά[σατε] συνεπιστέλλον—  
 τος Δομιτ[ί]ου Ἀπολλωνίου βασιλ[ικο]ῦ γραμματέως  
 5 ἀπὸ λόγου [δ]ιοικήσεως Ζωίλῳ Καρᾶτος μητρὸς Τασεῦτος  
 ..[.].[ c. 13 ].....[...] μ[η]τρὸς Τααμόϊτος ἀμ—  
 . . . . .

## Col. ii

Ζωίλος Καρᾶτος μητρὸς Τασεῦτος  
 καὶ Ἀμόϊς Φανίου τοῦ Ἀμόϊτος μητ(ρὸς)  
 Τα[α]μόϊτος ἀμφότ(εροι) ἀπ' Ὁξυρύγχων πόλ(εως)

10 καταγινόμενοι ἐν τῷ Ἰστρῷ ἐποικίῳ  
καὶ Πλουτίων Cενθέως τοῦ Πλουτ(ί)ωνος  
μητρὸς Τααρμιύσιος ἀπὸ τοῦ Ἰστρ[ο]υ ἐ(ποικίου)  
οἱ γ' ἐξ ἀλληλεγγύης ἀναδοθέντ(ε)ς  
εἰς τὸ προστῆνα[ι] . . . . . ης δη-

## Col. iii

15 Φωκίων στρα[τηγὸς  
τραπεζίταις [  
συνεπιστέλλο[ντος  
. . . . .

1 ἀργ- 2 l. Ὁξυργχίτου, τραπεζίταις 8 μῆτ 9 ἀμφοτ, πολ 10 l. Ἰστρου  
12 ε) 13 ἀναδοθέντ 16 l. τραπεζίταις

(Lines 2 ff.) 'Phocion, strategus of the Oxyrhynchite, to the bankers of public moneys of the same nome, greetings. Pay, as jointly instructed by Domitius Apollonius, royal scribe, from the account of the department of the dioecetes to Zoilus son of Saras, his mother being Taseus, ...'

(Col. ii) 'Zoilus son of Saras, his mother being Taseus, and Amois son of Phantias son of Amois, his mother being Taamois, both from the city of Oxyrhynchi, residing in the farmstead of Istru, and Plution son of Sentheus son of Plution, his mother being Taharmiysis, from the farmstead of Istru, the three nominated on mutual security for the supervision of ...'

1 The remains of the docket are confusing. ἀργ( ) is clear; after a space, apparently α and then ink marks on a badly broken surface over a width of about 4 letters and a height of 2 lines. Beyond that the surface is clear.

6 The line is badly damaged but comparing secure Τααμόϊτος with 8-9 shows the line will have run καὶ Ἀμόϊτι Φανίου τοῦ Ἀμόϊτος μητρὸς Τααμόϊτος ἀμ|φοτέροις κτλ.

10, 12 For the Ἰστρου ἐποίκιον see P. Pruneti, *I centri abitati dell' Ossirinichite* 73.

13 ἀναδοθέντ(ε)ς. For this technical term in connection with liturgies see N. Lewis, *The Compulsory Public Services of Roman Egypt* 58.

15-17 For the probable wording of this entry cf. col. i 2-4.

REVEL COLES



**4060.** OFFICIAL CORRESPONDENCE

26 3B.50/G(1)–(9)

Approx. 135 × 28 cm

c. June–July, 161

Five columns preserve copies of correspondence incoming to the strategus of the Oxyrhynchite nome. The roll has been cut off sharply on the left, and deteriorates before breaking off on the right. The Oxyrhynchite strategus is Phocion, already known as in office in 159 (G. Bastianini and J. Whitehorne, *Strategi and Royal Scribes* 93); **4060** provides a new latest date. **4059** above provides further evidence for him. His correspondents are strategi (and one royal scribe acting-strategus) of other nomes scattered through Egypt. The bulk of the correspondence is concerned with searching (negative, in all cases!) for wanted persons. A section of one letter (42–56) relates to the sale of the confiscated property of a former tax-farmer. Every one of the letters indicates a response to higher instructions. Two of the letters contain (1–6, 56–61) provisions in case Phocion should have on file copies of outgoing letters that should have had a response from the writers of these sections of **4060**.

It will be clear already that a primary interest of this text is prosopographical. As well as a network of officials at the strategus/royal scribe level, with links with other texts in this volume, **4060** attests some senior officials: Volusius Maecianus, *praefectus Aegypti* (10 n.), Domitius Peregrinus, former *procurator ad Mercurium* (new; 42 n.), and Manlius Severus, *procurator ad Mercurium* (new; 123 n.). Strategi, besides Phocion (40 n.), are Callicles (Memphite, new; 3 n.), Ammonius (Nesyt, new; 40 n.), Apollonides (Perithebas, new; 69 n.), Calpurnius Artemidorus alias Ptolemaeus (Onuphite, new; 82 n.), and Chaeremon(?) (Delta Diopolite, new; 121 n.). For Vegetus (nome unknown, but new) see the introduction further below. Also new is Horigenes, royal scribe and acting-strategus of the Heliopolite (97 n.).

The dates of the original letters run from Payni (28th, line 91; day not read, line 65) to Epeiph (3rd, line 78; 5th, line 14) of year 1 (of Aurelius and Verus) = AD 161. The original roll, of which **4060** is a copy, was assembled with each new entry being glued on to the left of the previous entry. The date that this was done was recorded in an annotation at the head of each entry, and later on item numbers were assigned starting from the left (dates Epeiph (120(?), 96, 81, 68) to Mesore (39); item numbers preserved are 35 (line 39) to 40 (line 120) with no entry number 37 in our copy (see 81 n.)). The dates thus get earlier as the roll proceeds, the order being that of the glueing not that of writing the letters, the dates of which are slightly out of order, see above. These data are preserved at second hand in the present papyrus, a copy which does not reproduce the column/item layout of the original *τόμος συγκολλήσιμος*. It is nevertheless surprising to find the glueing dates entered by a different hand; I have no explanation for this phenomenon.

Combining the information we are given about place and date of writing of the various letters and the date of their incorporation in the original *τόμος* provides some

useful data on travel within Egypt. On this topic see J. D. Thomas, *CE* 46 (1971) 178 and D. W. Rathbone, *ZPE* 62 (1986) 102–3. It will be best to tabulate our new data:

From	Writing date	Attached to <i>τόμος</i> in Oxyrhynchus	Days
Delta Diopolite	lost	Epeiph 8?	
Heliopolite	lost	Epeiph 8?	
Onuphite	Payni 28	Epeiph 8?	10
περὶ Θήβας	Epeiph 3	Epeiph 10?	7
Nesyt	Payni	Mesore	31 (see below)
Memphite	Epeiph 5(?)	[Mesore?]	26 (see below)

The time between writing and attachment to the *τόμος* is a maximum time for the travel, which could be reduced if there were an interval between writing and despatch or between receipt and attachment to the *τόμος*. For Nesyt, the days of the month are uncertain; the period of 31 days is the minimum time between writing and attachment to the *τόμος*. The same consideration applies to the Memphite example; the date of attachment to the *τόμος* is lost, but we suppose it to be the same day or later than the Nesyt entry. The extra time taken for the last two entries is striking. Were the required searches carried out before the new document was attached to the *τόμος*? If so, the large number of persons in the Memphite example to be searched for, and in the Nesyt example the nature of the information sought, could contribute to the longer times. On the other hand, in the Onuphite and Peritheban examples the interval is so short that it seems unlikely that it could also include an effective search.

The measurements given above are only approximate, because of the broken state of the papyrus. The papyrus preserves five joins, but the one in col. ii is completely obscured under the strengthening strip (see below); a probable sheet edge is discernible on the other side. This plus the damaged edges of the different sections of the papyrus make calculation of sheet widths difficult. The one directly measurable width (visible sheet area) is 25 cm; the three other instances must be approximately the same (two sheets, from col. i–col. iii, measure 50 cm).

There remains a considerable quantity of small fragments and débris which I have been unable to locate within the confines of the stretch of text transcribed in this volume. The only detail of new interest they contain is the name Vegetus, occurring at a point (following a  $\kappa\omicron^\lambda$  notation) which makes it clear that he will be a strategus (or royal scribe, perhaps acting-strategus) of an unknown nome. This cannot be Vegetus known as Arsinoite strategus 164–167, since the date here must be around June–July 161 and Vegetus' Arsinoite tenure cannot go back that early, but it will perhaps be the same man holding an earlier appointment in his career.

On the back are the final nine columns of a roll of official correspondence and

lists, partly nominations to liturgies from a comogrammateus, the publication of which is deferred to a future volume; the date Mecheir 196 follows the final entry. These are written the same way up and thus in reverse direction to Phocion's correspondence on the front. A consequence of this re-use for the text on the front is the ubiquitous repair or strengthening patches, their extent not always easily defined, which have been a widespread obstruction in reading the text. It has been possible to lift these patches in places, enabling readings to be made which would not be visible on a photograph. Elsewhere obscured writing has been treated as if in lacuna. The correspondence and lists on the back are also copies, although written by more than one hand.

## Col. i

- τῶν διακομιζόντων ἐνίας π[αραπίπ]τειν εὖ π[οιήσει]ς, ἄδελφε,  
 ἐ[ὰ]ν ἔχῃς ἐπισ[το]λὴν δεομένην[ν τῆς] ἀπ' ἐμοῦ ἀν[τ]ιφωνήσεως  
 ἐπιστείλας τῷ [μ]ετ' ἐμὲ καταστ[αθ]έντι στρατηγῷ Καλλικλείῳ ὅπως  
 τῆς δεούσης ἀντιφωνήσεως τύχῃ. φάνερον δὲ ποιήσεις καὶ τῷ  
 5 βασιλικῷ γρ(αμματεῖ) καὶ ἐγλογιστῇ τοῦ ὑπὸ σοὶ νομοῦ ἵν' εἰ καὶ  
 αὐτ[οὶ ἔχουσι]ν  
 τὸ αὐτὸ πράξωσι. καὶ εἰ παρὰ σοὶ εὔρηται τινες ἐν τῷ [Μεμφείτῃ]  
 γεουχοῦντ(ες) ἐπιστελεῖς τῷ αὐτῷ [μ]ετ' ἐμὲ στρατηγῷ ἵνα τῆς  
 ἀπαιτή  
 σεως προνοήσῃται. οἱ ὑπογεγραμ[μέ]νοι, οἳ μὲν ἀπὸ δημοσίων χρει  
 ῶν [ἀναχω]ρήσαντ(ες), οἳ δὲ ἐπ' αἰτί[αις] ὀνομασθέντες καὶ ἀφανεῖς  
 10 γενόμενοι, ἐκελεύσθησαν ὑπὸ Οὐβολουσίου Μαικιανοῦ τοῦ λαμπρο  
 τάτου ἡγεμόνος ἀναζητεῖσθαι. ἵν' οὖν καὶ παρὰ σοὶ ἐπιμελῇ αὐτῶν  
 ἀναζητήσιν ποιήσῃ καὶ οὐκ ἔαν εὔρης πέμψῃς οἷς προσήκει  
 ἐπέστειλά σοι. ἐρρώσθαί σε εὖχομ(αι), φίλτ(ατε). διὰ Ἀπολλωνίου  
 βοηθ(οῦ).  
 (ἔτους) α// Ἐπεὶ φέξ'. εἰς δέ·  
 15 οἳ μὲν ἀπὸ δημοσ(ίων) χρειῶν ἀναχωρήσ[α]ντ(ες) φύλακες μητροπόλ(εως).  
 Πετσαρμώτης Πετσαρμώτ(ου) Ψευ. . . . . αὐτ( ). Παντβ(εύς) υἱὸς  
 Ἄρτεμεῖτ(ος).  
 Ἀροννώφρις υἱὸς(ς) Τανετβ(εύιος). Διογένης Παπρυτιώ(νος)  
 Διογένος(ς). Πετσαρμώτ(ης) Πετεήσι(ος)  
 Πετσαρ(μώτου). Μηνᾶς Μηνοδώρο(ς) Πετσαρ(μώτου). Ὠρίων υἱὸς  
 Τεταθήριδ(ος). Νεφερώς

- Ἀπολλω(νίου) Πετρεεῖτο(ς). Κολλουθίων Που[ι]ρίωνος. Ἰσάρης  
 Ἰμούθου Πανετβεύιος.  
 20 Πάμφιλος Πετιμούθ(ου). Ἀγχιρέμφ[ι]ς Ὁρου. Κολλοῦθος καὶ  
 Ἀσκληᾶς Ἀρνώτ(ου).  
 Ἀπο[ c. 8 ]του. Σαραπίων Παν[ε]τβ(εύιος). Τοθοῆς  
 Τοθοῆο(ς) Ἰμούθ(ου). Πανετβ(εύιος)  
 Νι . . . . . Πετρεαρ(μώτης) Πετρεαρ(μώτου) Ἰμο[ύ]θου. Τοθοῆς  
 Ἀροννώ(φριος) Ὁρου υἱοῦ  
 Τααρ . . . . . Πετρεαρμώτ(ης) Νεφερῶ[τος] Πόσι[τ]ο(ς). Πεκ[ύ]ς  
 Π[α]νετβ(εύιος).  
 Ὁρος Τοθήο(ς). Σαραπίων υἱὸς(ς) Ἰσιτος τῆς [ . . . ] . . . . .  
 Ὀννώφρ[ις 2-3 ] . . . ριος.  
 25 κώμης Τοῦ[ . . ]ως ὁμοίω(ς). Ἀ[ρπο]κράς [ . . . ] . . ο . . [ . . ]ατης  
 Πα[ c. 5 ]υ

## Col. ii

- κώμης Τασκρύ. Ἀπολλων[ c. 10-11 ] Ὁρος Διογένους.  
 Π[ε] c. 6 ] (vac.)  
 Παμούνιος. Πανχεῖρις Π[ c. 11-12 ]φριος. Σκρὺ ὁμοίως.  
 Π[ετ]ε-  
 μείνις Διδύμου. Πετρεμ[ . ]ν[ c. 10-11 ] Ἀροννώφ(ρεως).  
 Ἀθηνίω[ν 2-3 ]υ  
 υἱὸς Θαήσιος. Κολλοῦθος Ἐθρ[ή]ο(ς)? c. 8-9 ]( ). Παντβεῦς  
 Πετρεμεν[ c. 3 ]θου.  
 30 Κολλοῦθος Παν[ί]σκου. Ακω[ c. 10-11 ] ὁμοίω(ς). Παρ[ . . ]  
 Πετεής[ιος. Π]ετε-  
 μείνις Νεφερῶτ(ος). Ἰσᾶς Π[ c. 9 ] . . .  
 Πετος[ο]ροννώφ(ριος).  
 οἱ δὲ ἐπ' αἰτίαις ὀνομασθέν[τες. Παν]ετβεῦς Ἰσαρήου ἐπικ(αλούμενος)  
 Πατμ[ο]υῖς.  
 Θερμοῦθις γ(υνή?) Ἀρμάιο(ς) Πα[ c. 7-8 ] Παθε[ρ]μοῦθις  
 Ἐθρήο(ς). Ἀπολλῶς Ἀδράτ(ου).  
 Ἀρητίων ἐπικαλούμ(ενος) Ο. [ c. 10-11 ] οἱ πάντες  
 ἐπιζητηθ(έντες) ἐν ἐξέτασει



35 κυλήσεως οἰκίας. Νεφερῶ[ c. 8-9 ] κακοῦ βίου ὦ[ c ] καὶ  
τρώσα[ c ] Παν-  
τβεῦν φύλακα.

δηλοῦμεν μηδέν[ a τῶν προγεγρ(αμμένων) ] διατρεῖβε[ i ]ν ἐν τοῖς  
ὑφ' ἑ(καστον)

ἡ[ μ ]ῶν τόποι[ c ] ἀλλὰ κ[ αἰ ἀγνοεῖν αὐ ]τοὺς τῷ κ[ αθ' ὅ ]λου.

κόλ(λημα) λε— (m. 2) (κολ( ) Μεσορ[ ἡ ]. —)

40 (m. 1) Ἀμμώνιος στρατηγὸς Νεσ[ ὑτ Φωκί ]ωνι στρατηγῶι Ὁξυρυγχ(ίτου)  
τῷ φιλτάτ[ ωι ] χαίρειν.

Δομίτιος Περεγρεῖνος ὁ γεν[ ὅμενος τοῦ ] Ἑρμοῦ ἐπίτροπος

ἔγρ[ a ]ψεν

τῷ τοῦ Μενδησίου στρ(ατηγῶ) καμ[ οἰ περὶ πρ ]άξεως ὑπαρχόντων

πρ[ ὁ ]τερον

Ἑρακλείδου τοῦ καὶ Ἡρωνος [ c. 10-11 ] μητρὸς Ἰσιδώρας ἀπὸ

[ . ]αγώ-

45 μεως τ[ ο ]ῦ Μενδησίου μισθῶσα[ μέν ]ον ζὺν Ἀπολλωνίῳ Γαῖου

τέ[ λ ]ος φακοῦ

ἐρεΐξεως, καὶ ἠθέλησεν συν[ τι ]μωμένους αὐτὰ πρὸς τε τὴν νυνὶ οὐ-

σαν διάθεσιν καὶ θεωρίαν κα[ ἰ τῷ ]ν π[ ρ ]οσόδων δύ[ ν ]αμ[ ιν ε ]ῖς

πράσιν

προκηρύσσειν καὶ ἃς ἐὰν λάβ[ ωμεν αἰ ]ρέσεις φανεράς π[ οιῆσαι, ἐν

το]κούτω

τὰς ἐξ αὐτῶν περιγεινομέν[ ας προ ]σόδους προστιθεμένους τῷ

κυριακῷ

50 λόγῳ, [ ᾧ ]ναζητῆσαι δὲ καὶ ἐ[ ἴ τινα ᾗ ]λλον πόρον κέκτῃται παρ'

ἡμεῖν

Col. iii

ἐπὶ τοῦ ἰδίου ὀνό[ μα ]τ[ ος ] ἢ ἐτέρων ἐν πίστ[ ει καὶ τ ]οῦτον ὁμοίως

[ κατα- ]

σχόν[ τας προστίθεται ε ]ῖς τὸ ταμεῖον σὺν καὶ ταῖς προσόδοις καὶ

τ[ 3-6 ]

απα[ c. 15 ] αὐτῷ, ἐπιστείλαντας καὶ τοῖς τῶν ἄλλων

[ νο- ]



- μῶ[ν στρα]τηγοῖς τ[ὸ] αὐτὸ ποιῆσαι. ἵν' οὖν ἐ[ῖ] παρὰ σοὶ πόρος τις  
 αὐτῷ  
 55 ὑπά[ρχ]ει ἐπὶ τ[οῦ] ἰδίου ὀνόματ[ος] ἢ ἐτέρων τ[ὸ ἄ]κόλουθον  
 [το]ῖς κελεν[ε]θε[ῖ]ς  
 ποι[ή]ας δηλώσῃς μοι ἔγρ[αψ]ά σοι. κατασταθεὶς στρ(ατηγός) τ[ῷ]  
 α (ἔτει) μηνὶ Φαῶφ[ι]  
 πρὸς πάσας τὰς κομισθείσας μοι ἐπιστολὰς τυγχάνω ἀντιγράψας.  
 ἐπεὶ δὲ  
 συμβ[α]ίνει παρ' αἰτίαν τῶν διακομιζόντων παραπείπτειν τ[ι]νας,  
 καλῶς πο[ι]—  
 ἤσεις δηλώσας μοι εἰ [ἔχ]εις ἐπιστολὴν δεομ[έ]νην [τ]ῆς ἀπ' ἐμοῦ  
 ἀ[ν]τιφωνήσεως.  
 60 ἐπιστελεῖς δὲ καὶ τῷ [β]ασιλικῷ γρ(αμματεῖ) [κ]αὶ ἐγλογιστῇ [το]ῦ  
 νομοῦ ἵν' ἐ[ὰν] καὶ αὐτοὶ ἔχω[σι]  
 ἀναν[τι]φώνητον [ἐπ]ιστολὴν τ[ὸ] αὐτὸ ποιήσω[σιν.] εἰ  
 ἐτελιώθη[σα]ν παρὰ σοὶ οἰ—  
 κονομίαι διαφεροῦς[αι] τῷδε τῷ νομ[ῷ] δηλώσεις μοι. ὁ μέντοι  
 [τῷ]ν ἐγκτήσεων  
 τοῦδ[ε] τοῦ νομοῦ [βι]βλ(ιοφύλαξ) οὐδεμίαν [ο]ἰκονομίαν μετέδωκεν  
 διαφεροῦσαν  
 ἄλλο[ις] νομ[ο]ῖς . . [ c. 5 ]. οστ . . . [ c. 4 ]. ανθη[ c. 4 ] ωθήσεται.  
 [ἐρρ]ώσθαι σε εὔ[χο]μ(αι), φ[ίλ]τ(ατε).  
 65 (ἔτους) α // Π[αυ]λί . —  
 δηλοῦμεν μηδένα π[όρ]ον ὑπάρχ(ειν) τῷ προγεγρ(αμμένω)  
 [π]ερὶ τοὺς ὑφ' ἑκ[ασ]τον  
 ἡμῶν τόπους ἀλλ[ὰ καὶ] ἀγνοεῖν αὐτὸν τῷ καθ' [ὅλο]ν.  
 κόλ(λημα) λς (m. 2) (κ[ο]λ( ) Ἐπεὶ φ[ί]λ—  
 (m. 1) Ἀπολλωνίδης στρατηγὸς Περὶ Θήβας Φωκίῳ στρ(ατηγῷ)  
 Ὁξυρυγχείτου  
 70 τῷ φ[ί]λτάτῳ χαίρειν.  
 ὁ λαμπρότατος ἡγεμὼν Οὐ[ο]λούσιος Μαικιανὸς ἐκέλευσεν Βέλφιν  
 Πεκύ—  
 σιος αἰτιαθέντα ἐπὶ θυρανύξι καὶ Πατορμούθιν Λολοῦτος  
 γραμματεύσαντα  
 πράκτορσι ἀργυρικῶν καὶ ἐμφερ. [ 4-5 ]. ἱτηλογίῳ ἀμφοτέρους  
 ἀφανεῖς γενο—

μένους προγραφέντας καὶ μὴ ὀφθέντας ἀναζητηθῆναι. ἔν' οὖν,  
 75 καὶ παρὰ σοὶ τὴν ἀναζήτησ[ι]ν αὐτῶν ποιησάμενος ἐὰν εὐρεθῶσι  
 ἀνα-

Col. iv

[πέμψη]ς ἔπεμ[ψ]άς[οι] c. 37 ]  
 [ c. 5 C]αραπίωνος [  
 [(ἔτους)] α// Ἐπεὶ φγ—.

δηλοῦ[μ]εν μηδένα τ[ῶ]ν προγε[γρ(αμμένων) δια]τρεῖβειν ἐν  
 [το]ῖς ὑφ' ἐκ[αστον]

80 ἡμῶ[ν τ]όποις ἀλλὰ [καὶ] ἀγνο[εῖν αὐτ]οὺς τῶ κ[αθ' ὅλο]υ.

κόλ(λημα) λῆ— (m. 2) [(κο]λ( ) Ἐπεὶ φ η—)

(m. 1) Καρπ[ο]ύρνιος Ἀρτεμίδωρος [ὁ] καὶ Πτολεμαῖος στρ(ατηγός)  
 Ὀν[ου]φείτου

Φ[ω]κίων[ι] στρατηγῶι Ὁξυρυγχ(ίτου) τῶ[ι] φιλτάτωι  
 χαίρει[ιν].

Οὐ[ολο]ύσιος Μαικ[ι]ανός ὁ λαμπ[ρ]ότατος ἡγεμὼν πρὸς τὰ ὑ[π']  
 ἐ]μοῦ αὐτῶ

85 ἀ[νε]νεχθέντα περὶ τῶν ὑπο[γ]εγραμμένων [τ]οῦ μὲν δοθε[ν]τος ἐπὶ  
 κυ[νω]νῆς νεύρο[υ τ]ῶν δὲ ἀπὸ π[αρ]αφυλακῆ[ς]

ἀνακ[ε]χ[ω]ρηκό[των] ἐκέλευ—  
 σε[ν τ]ὴν ἀνα[ζή]τησιν αὐτῶν [γε]γέσθαι. ἔν' [οὔ]ν, φί[λ]τατε,

ἐπ[ιτρ]έψης  
 καὶ π[α]ρὰ σοὶ [τὴν] ἀναζήτη[σιν] αὐτῶν [ποιεῖ]σθαι καὶ το[ύτω]ν  
 εὐρε—

[θη]σομέν[ων] τ[ὸ] ἀκόλουθον π[ρ]άξας δηλ[ώσ]ης μοι ἐπ[ε]ς[τειλ]ά  
 σοι.

90 ἐρρώσθαι σε εὔ[χο]μαι, φίλτα[τ]ε.

(ἔτους) α// Παῦνι κῆ. [ε]ἰς δέ·

ὁ μὲν ἀναδοθεὶς ἐπὶ συνωνή[ς] γεύρου· Ὡρο[ς] Ἀθηνο(δώρου)

Ὡρ[ο]ν Ἐριουτιώτος

ἀπὸ Ψιμπαθᾶ. οἱ δὲ ἀπὸ παραφυλακῆς μητροπόλ(εως)· Ἀνουβᾶς

Ἀπεῖτος

Ἀφεως ἀπὸ Ὀνούφεως τῆς μητροπόλ(εως). Πιεβῶς Ἀπολλω(νίου)

ἀπὸ τῆς αὐτῆς.

- 95 δηλοῦμεν ὁμοίως.  
κόλ(λημα) λ̄θ̄ (m. 2) (κολ( ) Ἐπεὶ φη-) τὰ κατὰ τὴν  
(m. 1) Ὡριγένης βασιλικὸς γρ(αμματεὺς) Ἡλιοπολείτου διαδεχόμενος καὶ  
στρατηγίαν Φωκίῳ στρατηγῶι Ὁξυρυγχ(ίτου) τῷ φιλτάτῳ  
χα[ί]ρειν.  
Οὐολούσιος Μαικιανὸς ὁ λαμπρότατος ἡγεμὼν <πρὸς τὸ?> ἀνενεχθὲν  
αὐτῷ ὑπ' ἐμοῦ  
100 περὶ τῶν ὑπ[ογ]εγραμμένων ὧν μὲν κα[τ]η[γο]ρηθ(έντων) ἐπ[ι] τῷ  
ἔχειν θρέμματα

## Col. v

- ... γράψα καὶ[ c. 14 ] ἐληλυθ[ c. 7 ] ταξιφών.[  
δων τοῖς συν.[ c. 16 ] . . πο.[ c. 7 ] ω καὶ  
φυλακ.[ ? πρὸς-]  
φωνηθέντος [ c. 16 ] . . πλη.[ c. 7 ] ν καὶ ἀφανῶ[ν  
γενο-]  
μέν[ω]ν, [τ]ῶν δ[ὲ] ἀπὸ δη]μοσίων χρ[ε]ιῶν ἀνακε[χωρηκότ]ων,  
ἀντέγρα[ψεν καὶ ἐ-]  
105 κέ[λευσε]ν ἀκρε[ιβῆ] αὐτῶν ἀναζή[της]ιν γεν[έσθαι. ἴν' οὖν,]  
φίλτατε, κ[αὶ παρὰ σοὶ]  
τ[ὴν ἀν]αζήτη[σιν αὐ]τῶν ποιή[σῃ καὶ] ἐὰν εὔρε[θῶσι] πέμψῃς ο[ἱς  
προσῆκει]  
κ[αὶ δηλ]ώσης μ[οι ἐ]πέσειλά σοι. [ἐρρ]ῶσθαί σε [εὐχο(μαι),]  
τιμιώτατε.  
(ἔτους) [α]// [ month ]. [εἰς δ]έ·  
[οἱ μὲν . . ] . . πο.[ c. 16 ] ατω.[  
110 [ c. 5 Νε]φερῶ[-? c. 18 ] ας Α.[  
[ c. 7 ]ς Απ[ c. 19 ] νν.[  
[ c. 7 ] ονν.[ ? οἱ δὲ ἀπὸ ]  
[δημοσίων] χρειῶν [ c. 10 ] ακ[ c. 24 ] . . [ . . ] .  
[ c. 9 ] πε.[ c. 11 ] . . [ c. 26 ] φν[ . . ] .  
115 [ c. 8 ? Ἰ]ερακ[- c. 5 ] . ροις.[ c. 21 ? Ἰ]εραξ Κ. . . [

[ c. 6 ] ρου ετξ[ c. 4 ], ακ( ) υπ[ c. 24 ] ωρων[  
 . [ c. 4 ] τος Ἀπολλ[ώνιος Ἀν]ουβίω(νος) Π[ c. 24 ] Ψενησι[  
 τ[ c. 5 ] γνεῦτος Ἡ[ρ]ων Ἀρτύσι[ος . . ]. [ ] (vac.)  
 δηλοῦμεν ὁμοίω[ς.]  
 120 κ[ό]λ(λημα) μ[ (m. 2) (κολ( ) Ἐπειφ? ] η̄ )  
 (m. 1) Χ[αιρή]μων στρ[ατ]ηγὸς Διοπ[ολίτου] κάτω χά[ρας Φωκίωνι]  
 στρατηγ[ῶι Ὁξυρυχίτου]  
 τ[ῶ]ι φιλτάτ[ωι] χαίρειν.]  
 [Μ]άγλιος Σεουήρος [ό] κράτ[ιστος ἐπίτ]ροπο[ς] Ἐρμ[οῦ c. 10 ]. ν  
 μοι π[ερί?]  
 [ . . ], ἰδου καὶ Ἰσιδώ[ρου] Ἀπολ[λωνίου? κ]αὶ  
 Πτ[ο]λε[μαίου c. 12 ] μω[  
 125 [ c. 8 ] . . . [ c. 5 ] ωνι[ c. 10 ]. [ c. 20 ] πο. . [  
 [ c. 8 ] . . . [ c. 6 ] ματα[ c. 30 ] ν εἰς π[

5 γρξ 7 γεουχουν<sup>τ</sup> 9 -ρησαν<sup>τ</sup> 13 ευχο<sup>-</sup>, φιλ<sup>τ?</sup> βοη<sup>θ</sup> 14 L 15 δημος',  
 αναχωρησαν<sup>τ?</sup> μητροπο<sup>λ</sup> 16 πετεαρμω<sup>τ</sup>, αυ<sup>τ</sup> παντ<sup>β</sup>, αρτεμει<sup>τ</sup> 17 υι<sup>ο</sup> τανερ<sup>β</sup>, παπνουτιω<sup>δ</sup> διογενο<sup>-</sup> πετε-  
 αρμω<sup>τ</sup> πετεησι (extended horizontal of sigma of πετεησι crossed by large iota) 18 πετεαρ<sup>-</sup>, μηνοδωρ<sup>ο</sup>  
 πετεαρ<sup>-?</sup> τετεαθηρι<sup>δ</sup> 19 απολλω<sup>ω</sup> πετεσει<sup>ο</sup> 20 πετιμου<sup>θ</sup>, αργω<sup>τ</sup> 21 πανερ<sup>β</sup>, τοθοη<sup>ο</sup> ιμου<sup>θ</sup> πανερ<sup>β</sup>  
 22 πετεαρ<sup>-</sup> πετεαρ<sup>-</sup>, αρονν<sup>ω</sup> 23 πετεαρμω<sup>τ</sup>, ποσι<sup>ο</sup>, πανερ<sup>β</sup> 24 τοθη<sup>ο</sup> (l. Τοθοήους), υι<sup>ο</sup>  
 25 ομοι<sup>ω</sup> 28 αροννωφ<sup>-</sup> 29 Trace before Παντβεῦς a high horizontal 30 ομοι<sup>ω</sup> 31 νεφερω<sup>τ</sup>,  
 οννωφ<sup>-</sup> (abbreviation mark extended as filler stroke) 32 επι<sup>κ</sup> 33 γ<sup>-</sup> αρμαι<sup>ο</sup>, εθρη<sup>ο</sup>, αδρας<sup>τ</sup>  
 34 επικαλου<sup>-</sup>, επιζητη<sup>θ</sup> 37 ες 39 κο<sup>λ</sup> 40 οξυρυγ<sup>χ</sup> 43 στρξ 51 ἰδιου  
 52 εὐν καὶ ταῖς: κ corr. from τ 53 Final α of ἐπιστεῖλαντας corr. from ε 54 ἴν 55 ἰδιου  
 56 στρξ, ζ 58 l. παραπίπτειν 60 γρξ l. ἐκλογιςτῇ 63 βιβ<sup>λ</sup> 64 ευχο<sup>-?</sup> φιλ<sup>τ?</sup> 65 L  
 66 υπαρ<sup>χ</sup>, προγεγρξ; form of abbreviation in ξκ(ακτου) unclear 67 Foot of final υ extended into filling  
 stroke 68 κο<sup>λ</sup> 69 στρξ 72 l. θυρανοίξει 81 κο<sup>λ</sup> 82 l. Καλπούριος στρξ  
 83 οξυρυγ<sup>χ</sup> 90 ευχ<sup>ο</sup> 91 L 92 αθην<sup>ο</sup>? Or αθην<sup>οδ</sup>? 93 μητροπο<sup>λ</sup> 94 μητροπο<sup>λ</sup>,  
 απολλω<sup>ω</sup> 96 κο<sup>λ</sup> 97 γρξ 98 οξυρυγ<sup>χ</sup> 100 ρη<sup>θ</sup> 105 l. ἀκριβῆ 108 L  
 111 A horizontal line drawn above first group of visible letters 116 ]. α<sup>κ</sup> 117 ανουβι<sup>ω</sup>; Π[  
 or T[ 120 κο<sup>λ</sup> 124 ἰσιδωρου?

(Col. i) '[Since it happens that by the fault of] the carriers some get mislaid, you will do well, brother, if you have a letter wanting a response from me, to send to the strategus appointed to succeed me, Callicles, that it may obtain the necessary response. And inform both the royal scribe and eclogistes of the nome under your charge in order that they may do the same if they have such letters. If any persons holding land in the Memphite nome have been found with you, you will notify the said strategus succeeding me so that he may take thought for the exaction. The persons listed below, some of them having fled to escape public service, the others having been named on charges and having disappeared, were ordered by Volusius Maecianus, the most glorious prefect, to be searched for. Wherefore I have written to you that you may make a diligent search for them in your area also and send any of them that you find to

the appropriate persons. I pray for your health, dearest colleague. Through Apollonius, assistant. Year 1, Epeiph 5. As follows:

Those who have fled to escape public service: guards, from the metropolis:

Peteharmotes son of Peteharmotes, grandson of Pseu-..

Pantbeus whose mother is Artemeis.

Haronnophris whose mother is Tanetbeuis.

Diogenes son of Papnution, grandson of Diogenes.

Peteharmotes son of Peteesis, grandson of Peteharmotes.

Menas son of Menodorus, grandson of Peteharmotes.

Horion whose mother is Teteatheris.

Nepheros son of Apollonius, grandson of Peteseis.

Colluthion son of Pusirion.

Isares son of Imuthes, grandson of Panetbeuis.

Pamphilus son of Petimuthes.

Anchiremphis son of Horus.

Colluthus and Asclas, sons of Haryotes.

Apo-.. son of ..

Sarapion son of Panetbeuis.

Tothoes son of Tothoes, grandson of Imuthes.

Panetbeuis son of Ni-..

Peteharmotes son of Peteharmotes, grandson of Imuthes.

Tothoes son of Haronnophris, grandson of Horus whose mother is Tahar-..

Peteharmotes son of Nepheros, grandson of Posis.

Pecysis son of Panetbeuis.

Horus son of Tothoes.

Sarapion whose mother is Isis daughter of ..

Onnophris son of ..-ris.

(Guards from) the village of Tu-, likewise:

Harpocras ..'

(Col. ii) '(From) the village of Tascry:

Apollon-.. son of ..

Horus son of Diogenes.

Pe-.. son of Pamunis.

Pancheiris son of P-.., grandson of ..-phris.

(From) Scry, likewise:

Petemeinis son of Didymus.

Petem-.. son of .., grandson of Haronnophris.

Athenion(?) ... whose mother is Thaesis.

Colluthus son of Hethres, grandson of ..

Pantbeus son of Petemen-..

Colluthus son of Paniscus.



(From) Aco- (?), likewise:

Par-.. son of Peteesis.

Petemeinis son of Nepheros.

Isas son of P-..., grandson of Petosoronnophris.

Those named on charges:

Panetbeuis son of Isares, called Patmuïs.

Thermuthis wife of Harmaïs son of Pa-..

Pathermuthis son of Hethres.

Apollos son of Adrastus.

Netion called ..; all being sought in an inquiry into a burglary at a house.

Nepheros [son of ..?], because of his evil life (?), as having wounded Pantbeus, guard.'

'We declare that none of the aforementioned persons is sojourning in the areas administered by each of us, but further that we have absolutely no knowledge of them.'

'Sheet 35.' (2nd hand) 'Attached(?) on Mesore x.'

(1st hand) 'Ammonius, strategus of Nesyt, to Phocion, strategus of the Oxyrhynchite, his dearest colleague, greetings.

Domitius Peregrinus, former *procurator ad Mercurium*, wrote to the strategus of the Mendesian and to me about the sale of property formerly belonging to Heracleides alias Heron, son of ... and Isidora from -agomis in the Mendesian, former lessee together with Apollonius son of Gaius of the tax on pounding(?) lentils; and he wished us to make a valuation of it in the light of its present condition and appearance and the worth of its revenues and then advertise it for sale, and to declare whatever bids we received, meantime annexing to the fiscus the revenues accruing from the property. (He wished us) also to check if he had acquired any other property in our district, in his own name or in others' names in trust, and sequestrating this likewise to annex it to the fiscus together with its revenues and ..., sending instructions also to the strategi of the other nomes to do the same.' (Col. iii 54) 'I have written to you, therefore, so that if any property belongs to him in your district, in his own name or in others', you may act in accordance with orders and notify me. Appointed strategus in the month of Phaophi in the 1st year, I have answered all the letters conveyed to me. But since it happens that by the fault of the carriers some get mislaid, you will do well to inform me if you have a letter requiring a response from me. You will also notify the royal scribe and eclogistes of the nome in order that they may do the same if they too have any unanswered letters. If any transactions have been completed in your area that concern this nome, you will inform me. However, the record keeper of the property office of this nome has not communicated any transaction concerning other nomes ... I pray for your health, dearest colleague. Year 1, Payni x.'

'We declare that no property belongs to the aforementioned person in the areas administered by each of us, but further that we have absolutely no knowledge of him.'

'Sheet 36.' (2nd hand) 'Attached(?) on Epeiph 10(?).'

(1st hand) 'Apollonides, strategus of Perithebas, to Phocion, strategus of the Oxyrhynchite, his dearest colleague, greetings.

Volusius Maecianus, the most glorious prefect, ordered a search to be made for Belpis son of Pecysis, accused of door-breaking, and Patormuthis son of Lolus, former secretary to the collectors of money taxes and ..., both of them having disappeared on being proscribed and not having been seen. I have sent to you, therefore, dearest colleague, in order that in your area too you may make the search for them and that if they are found you may send them up ... Year 1, Epeiph 3.'

'We declare that none of the aforementioned persons is sojourning in the areas administered by each of us, but further that we have absolutely no knowledge of them.'

(Col. iv 81) 'Sheet 38.' (2nd hand) 'Attached(?) on Epeiph 8(?).'

(1st hand) 'Calpurnius Artemidorus alias Ptolemaeus, strategus of the Onuphite, to Phocion, strategus of the Oxyrhynchite, his dearest colleague, greetings.

In response to a report to him by me about the undermentioned persons, one of them put forward for the compulsory purchase of sinew and the others having fled to escape from guard duty, Volusius Maecianus, the most glorious prefect, gave orders for them to be searched for. I have written to you therefore, dearest colleague, that you may order the search for them to be made in your area too and if these persons shall be found that you may act accordingly and notify me. I pray for your health, dearest colleague. Year 1, Payni 28. As follows:

The one put forward for the compulsory purchase of sinew:

Horus son of Athenodorus, grandson of Horus, great-grandson of Heriupos, from Psimpatha.

The others (who have fled to escape) from guard duty, in the metropolis:

Anubas son of Apeis, grandson of Aphis, from Onuphis the metropolis.

Piebos son of Apollonius, from the same.'

'We declare likewise.'

'Sheet 39.' (2nd hand) 'Attached(?) on Epeiph 8(?).'

(1st hand) 'Horigenes, royal scribe of the Heliopolite, also acting strategus, to Phocion, strategus of the Oxyrhynchite, his dearest colleague, greetings.

Volusius Maecianus, the most glorious prefect, <in response to?> a report to him by me concerning the undermentioned persons, some of them accused ...' (col. v 103) '... and having disappeared, the others having fled to escape public service, wrote back and ordered a diligent search to be made for them. I have written to you therefore, dearest colleague, that you may make the search for them in your area too and that if they should be found you may send them to the appropriate persons and inform me. I pray for your health, most honoured colleague. Year [1, month and day.] As follows:

Those ...'

(Line 112) 'The others, who have fled to escape public service.'

(Line 117) 'Apollonius son of Anubion.'

(Line 118) 'Heron son of Hartysis.'

(Line 119) 'We declare likewise.'

'Sheet 40.' (2nd hand) 'Attached(?) on Epeiph 8(?).'

(1st hand) 'Chaeremon(?), strategus of the Delta Diopolite, to Phocion, strategus of the Oxyrhynchite, his dearest colleague, greetings.

Manlius Severus, *vir egregius, procurator ad Mercurium*, ... to me concerning  $\alpha$  son of  $\alpha$  and Isidorus son of Apollonius(?) and Ptolemaeus son of ...'

1 The upper margin is largely obscured by strengthening strips, with scattered remains of second century cursive. Similar strengthening patches, often with writing, occur intermittently over the surface elsewhere. Some further jottings are on the principal surface, not on strengthening strips. The applied strips are sometimes so fine that it is not always easy to be certain whether one is looking at the original surface or an applied surface.

1-36 This is from the Memphite strategus, as may be determined from the village names in 26 and 27. He is presumably just about to leave office, see 3 (for *κατασταθέντι* see N. Lewis, *Compulsory Public Services* (= *Pap. Flor.* XI) 61), and I suppose that Callicles (see 3 n.) has been appointed, not that he has already been installed in office so that his predecessor would be writing the present letter while out of office. This is the only letter in the present series written via a *βοηθός* (13; but cf. 77?), which might have something to do with the strategus' imminent departure.

2 ξ[ά]ν ἐχνης ἐπις[το]λήν. That is, a copy on file, the original of which had been sent to the Memphite strategus and had not yet been answered. Cf. 59.

3 Callicles, strategus-elect of the Memphite nome, is new. He will have been in office (soon?) after 29(?) June 161, see 14. His nearest known predecessor was Cephalon, royal scribe and acting strategus the year before, see G. Bastianini and J. Whitehorne, *Strategi and Royal Scribes* (= *Pap. Flor.* XV) 79; his nearest known successor Apollonius, see *ibid.*, must be displaced forward slightly to admit Callicles.

5 The Oxyrhynchite royal scribe at this date (29(?) June 161) cannot be certainly identified. Candidates could be Nilus alias Theon known in 159 (Bastianini and Whitehorne, *Strategi and Royal Scribes* 143, with 4058 above) and Domitius Apollonius known at an uncertain date between 159 and 163 (4059) and probably still in office on 30 July 163, 4061.

6 [Μεμφείτη]. Cf. 1-36 n. above.

10 Volusius Maecianus, *praefectus Aegypti*. The dates for him furnished by the present papyrus (he recurs in 71, 84 and 99), all in June 161, fall within his span known from elsewhere, February-November 161. See G. Bastianini, *ZPE* 17 (1975) 295.

13 Απολλωνίου βοηθ(οῦ). See 1-36 n. The possible successor of the strategus-elect Callicles (see 3) as strategus of the Memphite nome was an Apollonius, see Bastianini and Whitehorne, *Strategi and Royal Scribes* 79, but a connection is probably unlikely.

14 There are two untranscribed diagonal strokes in this line, a short one midway between ε' and εἰς δέ, and a longer one 2.5 cm after εἰς δέ.

15 φύλακες. For φύλακες see Lewis, *Compulsory Public Services* 51-2. The names of approximately 43 defaulters follow, at least 17 of them from villages (villages are listed in 25, 26, 27 and 30).

16 The correct expansion (nominative or genitive) and grouping of names in the long list that follows is not always clear-cut, and here and there the transcription and translation given may be somewhat arbitrary. The consistent use of *νόος* where the mother only is named has been helpful.

19 Ἰσάρης appears to be a previously unrecorded name.

25 Τον[...]. No village that will fit these traces appears to be recorded for the Memphite nome.

26 κώμης Τακρύ. See A. Calderini-S. Daris, *Diz. geogr.* IV 366, locating this village in the Memphite nome, and the article by J. Yoyotte cited there, *Rev. d'Ég.* 14 (1962) 89-93; W. Clarysse, *Stud. Hell.* 24 (1980), map facing p. 112. Cf. 27 n. below.

27 Τακρύ. See the article by Yoyotte cited above (26 n.). Calderini and Daris, *op. cit.* IV 292 and 366, include this village under Τακρύ, cf. 26 n. above, but the separate entry here indicates that we are dealing with two separate localities. This papyrus is our latest reference for both villages.

28 Αθηνίω[ν] seems inevitable despite the damaged letter. The reading is clear at the end of this line and the beginning of the next, but ]ν here is puzzling.



29 'Εθρ[ήο(υς). Cf. 33. 'Εθρῆς is proposed on the analogy of Ἀθρῆς, but the name, however aspirated, appears to be an *addendum onomasticis*.

The high horizontal that appears after the lacuna and abbreviates a name lost in it may have been extended, so reducing the letter count within the lacuna.

30 Ακω[ is problematical. A personal or place name is expected. δ]μοίω(ς) will have been preceded by a village name, cf. 25, 27. The lacuna is long for a single village name beginning Ακω[ to precede (and no such place appears to be recorded for the Memphite nome); perhaps two linked villages were named. For the absence of κώμης before the village name cf. 27; for its inclusion cf. 25, 26. Another possibility might be that Ακω[ begins the name of Colluthus' grandfather, but against this is the space separating Ακω[ from what precedes. Ακω[ can hardly begin a nominative personal name; the lacuna is too narrow to contain the rest of the name, patronymic and village name.

33 'Εθρῆο(υς). Cf. 29 n.

39 κολ(ληθέν)? It is curious that what was surely an annotation to the original τόμος συγκολλήσιμος features on the present copy roll in a different hand, and doubly curious, in that it was then bracketed for deletion, if that is what the brackets signify here. Regarding the date, see 68 n.

40 Ammonius, strategus of Nesyt, is new. He gives his date of appointment in line 56. That passage is much damaged, but I think it should be read as year 1, Phaophi = 28 September–27 October, 160, the date (correctly in the last year of Antoninus) being assigned retrospectively to the first year of Marcus Aurelius. Space (there is room for one digit only) and traces exclude reading e.g. 24 (his last year) or 23 Antoninus as the year figure, while the month traces will not admit Phamenoth or Pharmuthi. The date the strategus wrote his letter is Payni (line 65; we have been unable to read the day) = May/June, 161. Only one name is recorded for Nesyt by Bastianini and Whitehorne, *Strategi and Royal Scribes* 82 (cf. 139), from thirty-three years later.

For Nesyt see Calderini-Daris, *Diz. geogr.* III 345.

Phocion, strategus of the Oxyrhynchite nome. His name (partly lost here) recurs in lines 69, 83, 98 and 121. The papyrus attests dates from Payni through to Mesore, 161. Phocion is well attested, see Bastianini and Whitehorne, *Strategi and Royal Scribes* 93, but **4060** now provides the latest date for him and allows us to discard the suggestion *στρ(ατηγῆσαντος)* for P. Laur. III 63.3. He is also evidenced in the present volume by the undated **4059** and there may be a further reference to him (out of office) in **4061**. His last known predecessor may have been Athenodorus, possibly in office on 20 December 156, see J.-J. Aubert, *BASP* 28 (1991) 101–120. The next attested strategus after Phocion is Calpurnius Artemidorus alias Ptolemaeus, in office on 30 July 163 (**4061**, and cf. 82 n. below).

42 Domitius Peregrinus, former *procurator ad Mercurium*, is new. Other holders of this office are listed in H.-G. Pflaum, *Les Carrières* III 1089 and in his 1982 supplement, 140; add Aurelius Victor, XLVII **3363** (c. 199). The current holder of this office (date uncertain, but probably June 161) is named in line 123, Manlius Severus.

43 It is not certain who was strategus of the Mendesian nome at this date. For the nearest names each side of then, see Bastianini and Whitehorne, *Strategi and Royal Scribes* 80–1.

The proximity of Nesyt (40) to the Mendesian nome may be sufficient explanation as to why the Nesyt strategus was early involved in the confiscation and sale procedure. Perhaps it was already known that the defaulter's property lay in both nomes. We can only guess at how the labour of further spreading the instructions of the *procurator ad Mercurium* to the other nomes (53–4) was shared.

44–5 [.] αἰώμεως. Apparently unknown.

45–6 τέ[λ]ος φακοῦ ἐρείξεως. This tax seems to be a novelty; what is even more curious is that this routine agricultural operation should be taxed at all, let alone independently. Was the tax levied when it was performed at a special place, e.g. a state-run threshing floor? For φακοῦ ἐρείξις I have found no direct parallel, but Suidas ἐρεικτά is cited with reference to ὄσπρια, and ὄσπρια include φακός, see P. Teb. I 9 and 11 and M. Schnebel, *Landwirtschaft* 185.

56 κατασταθεῖς στρ(ατηγός) τ[ὴ] α (ἔτει) μηνὶ Φαῶφ[ι]. See 40 n.

59 Cf. 2 n.

61 ἀναν[τι]φώνητον [ἐπ]ιστολήν. Cf. 2 n.

68 It is initially surprising that the τόμος apparently contained no entries between this date (Epeiph 10?) and an unread date in Mesore (line 39). This can hardly indicate that no correspondence was received in this period; what came in must have been attached to a different roll or rolls.

69 Apollonides, strategus of Perithebas, is new. Bastianini and Whitehorne, *Strategi and Royal Scribes* 107 record no holders of this office between 141 and the third(?) century. Apollonides wrote this letter on Epeiph 3 = 27 June, 161, see line 78.

72 *θυρανόξι*. Presumably for *θυρανοίξει*, apparently an *addendum lexicis*. LS<sup>9</sup> records *θυρανοίκτης* with the meaning 'door-opener' but obviously a more violent sense is called for here.

77 The rest of the line is partly obscured by overlaid papyrus pieces, cf. the introd. above (*ad fin.*) and 1 n. It is not clear how far, if at all, 77 continued beyond *Σαραπίωνος*. 13 above also has a name at this point. Was Sarapion another *βοηθός*?

81 There is no item 37 in this papyrus. There would seem to be two possibilities: a) the number was inadvertently omitted when the original *τόμος* was 'paginated', or b) item 37 was present in the original *τόμος* but was omitted in making the present copy.

82 Calpurnius Artemidorus alias Ptolemaeus, strategus of the Onuphite nome, is new. He wrote this letter on Payni 28 = 22 June, 161 (see line 91). Bastianini and Whitehorne, *Strategi and Royal Scribes* 86 record only one strategus of this nome, in A.D. 108.

It will be the same Calpurnius Artemidorus alias Ptolemaeus who appears two years later as a new Oxyrhynchite strategus, see 4061–2 below.

*Ὀρ[ου]φείτου*. Cf. 94 *ἀπὸ Ὀνούφειος τῆς μητροπόλεως*. See Calderini-Daris, *Diz. geogr.* III 390–1. The present papyrus is not helpful topographically.

86 Cf. 92. For *συνωνή* = *coemptio* see LIV 3758 5–38; note also P. Mich. XV 725.1 n. and P. Heid. IV 323. *νεῦρον* = *nervus* does not appear to have featured up to now in the wide range of items which were levied or the purchase of which was financed in this way. Presumably cord made from animal sinew is meant, to serve a variety of uses.

For *παραφυλακή* see Lewis, *Compulsory Public Services* 42.

92 The sequence of four names is unexpected, but the small uplifted omicron in *αθην<sup>ο</sup>* and the apparent absence of delta (there are some ink marks, well above the line) seem to exclude an otherwise tempting *Ἀθηνόδωρου* in place of transcribed *Ἀθηνο(δάρου) Ὀρου*. *Ἐριουπῶς* appears to be a previously unrecorded name.

93 *Ψιμπαθᾶ*. Apparently unknown.

95 *δηλοῦμεν ὁμοίως*, cf. 119. Such wording will hardly have been subscribed to the original documents, and must be a copyist's modification introduced when copying the correspondence from the *τόμος* to the present roll.

97 Horigenes, royal scribe, acting-strategus of the Heliopolite nome, is new. Bastianini and Whitehorne, *Strategi and Royal Scribes* 62 record two *strategi* for this nome, from the first and third centuries; no royal scribe of this nome was previously known. The date on which Horigenes wrote this letter is much damaged, line 108, but is likely to have been in Payni (161), cf. the tabulated dates in the introduction above.

98 *τῷ*. The article at this point in the other letters in this roll has iota adscript (restored in 83). In fact, iota adscript is regularly used in these formal address sections of the letters, and ignored elsewhere, a phenomenon already noticed by C. H. Roberts, P. Ant. I 35 ii 1 n.

110 Initial alpha indicated by the spacing; likewise in the next line.

111 See the previous note. Possibly *πν.* [rather than *πν.*].

113 *ακ[* could suggest *φύλακ[ες*, cf. 15; if so, *ἀνακεχωρηκότες* (cf. 104) or the like preceding must have been abbreviated. Alternatively, <sup>113</sup>*[οἱ δὲ ἀπὸ] χρείων [δημοσίων ἀν]ακ[εχωρηκότες*.

120 *μ[*. 40 is expected, cf. the previous entry in line 96, but the sequence omitted 37, see line 81 n. No trace remains of the expected supralinear bar. Epeiph 8 is restored comparing lines 96 and 81, but the next possible earlier date—Payni 28—could as easily be restored here.

121 Chaeremon(?), strategus of the Delta Diopolite nome, is new. No other certain strategus of this nome is known, see Bastianini and Whitehorne, *Strategi and Royal Scribes* 60. The date on which his letter was written is lost but is likely to have been in Payni (161), cf. the tabulated dates in the introduction above.

123 Manlius Severus, *procurator ad Mercurium*, is new. For other known holders of this office see 42 n. above. The date of the Delta Diopolite strategus' letter is lost, but a glance at the tabulated writing dates and *τόμος*-attachment dates in the introduction above will indicate that a date in Payni (161) is probable. The name Manlius Severus recurs on a tombstone from Latium, see *PIR*<sup>2</sup> V 161–2.

*π[ερ]*? Last trace could also be *τ[*.

126 *ν εἰς π[*. The articulation is suggested by the spacing.

REVEL COLES





[Μάρκου Αὐρηλίου Ἀ]ντωνίνου Σεβαστοῦ καὶ Αὐτοκράτορος  
 Κα[ίσαρος Λουκίου]  
 [Αὐρηλίου Οὐήρου] Σεβαστοῦ, Μεσορῇ 5<sup>-</sup>. ἔστι δέ· ἐκ τῶν β (ἔτους)  
 τω[ c. 11 ]  
 [ c. 13 ] . . . . ω ἐξ ὑπομνηματισμῶν τινων κριτῶν [ c. 11 ]  
 15 [ c. 16 ] . [ . ] . . . καὶ ε . [ c. 12 ] τολικοῖς . . . . [ c. 10 ]  
 [ c. 42 ] . . . . [ c. 13 ]  
 . . . . .  
 2 ων<sup>0</sup> 4 στρς 11 φτ<sup>λ</sup>

1 Did the name of the sender (and his title?) occupy the initial gap? For the strategus' full name, restored here, see **4062** below, which also confirms his Oxyrhynchite tenure, deduced but not actually stated here. Two years or so earlier he had held the same post in the Onuphite nome, as **4060** 82 informs us.

2 See 6 n. below.

4 For Domitius Apollonius, royal scribe of the Oxyrhynchite, see the introd. above and **4059**.

6 For Phocion see the introd. above. At the beginning, traces could suit στρατηγ[ή]ας, which in turn suggests the possibility of ὁ στρα[τηγ]ήας Φωκίων in 2.

ἀνεξετάστοις εἶδεσι, 'uninvestigated dossiers'. For this sense of εἶδη—administrative dossiers for presentation at the *conventus*—see N. Lewis, *BASP* 18 (1981) 126–9. Such dossiers were generally referred for investigation along a route that included some or all of the nome eclogistes, the strategus and the royal scribe, see Lewis's table on p. 129. If Domitius, 4, is the royal scribe here, then this papyrus mentions all three officials (and, possibly, the preceding strategus, and an ex-gymnasiarch); but the damage leaves the details of the procedure here unclear.

7 For the eclogistes of the nome see P. Petaus 25 introd., and note 6 n. above.

11–13 For the regnal formula restored here see P. Bureth, *Les titulatures impériales* 80.

13 τ[ ] or ης[ ] or ημ[ ] at end instead of τω[ ]

14 Are the κριταί here *iudices dati* (see N. Lewis, *BASP* 18 (1981) 125–6) and did the 'dossiers' (see 6 n. above) concerned here include legal material?

15 Articulation suggested by script and spacing. ἐν]τολικοῖς? ἐπικ]τολικοῖς? διακ]τολικοῖς?

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#### 4062. DOCUMENT ADDRESSED TO A STRATEGUS

29 4B.44/K(5–7)a

7.2 × 8.5 cm

c. 163

The principal interest of this badly abraded fragment is that it supplies the full name of the strategus Artemidorus alias Ptolemaeus already met with in **4061** above, confirms (see 5) his tenure as Oxyrhynchite (deduced in **4061** but not specifically stated) and by supplying his full name allows us to appreciate that this will have been the same Calpurnius Artemidorus alias Ptolemaeus who had already been strategus of the Onuphite nome some two years earlier, as we learn from **4060** above.

An approximate date only is possible by comparison with **4061** above.

There are remains of sixteen lines but the lower part is extremely badly damaged and we transcribe only the first five. Below, there is a reference to τὸ Κατύρου ἐποίκιον (7–8; cf. P. Pruneti, *I centri abitati dell' Ossirinchi* 162). The writing overruns a kollesis near the left edge. The back is blank.

Καλπουρνίῳ Ἀρτεμιδώρῳ τῷ καὶ Πτολ(εμαίῳ) στρα(ατηγῷ)  
 παρὰ Ζευήρου χρηματίζοντος μητρὸς  
 [...]...ης καὶ Ἡρακλειδίωνος  
 χρ[η]μ[ατ]ίζοντος μητρὸς Ἀλειτος  
 5 [ἀμ]φ[ο]τ[ε]ράων ἀπ' Ὀξυρύγχων πόλεως.  
 (Fragmentary remains of 11 further lines)

1 πτο<sup>λ</sup>στρ

(1–5) 'To Calpurnius Artemidorus alias Ptolemaeus, strategus, from Severus(?) styled as his mother being ... and Heracleidion styled as his mother being Alis, both from the city of Oxyrhynchus.'

4 Ἀλειτος. For the accentuation cf. F. T. Gignac, *Grammar* II 56–7.

REVEL COLES

#### 4063–4067. DOCUMENTS FROM THE ARABIAN NOME

These five closely contemporary documents, plus **4070** of c. AD/208 below, relate to the Arabian nome. The texts in the present group, with the exception of **4065** of which the top is lost, are all addressed to Ammonius, strategus. The latest of the group, **4067** (16 January 184), is addressed to him via the royal scribe, Sarapion alias Sarapammon, described as acting strategus (διαδεχόμενος καὶ τὰ κατὰ τὴν στρατηγίαν). Obviously this was just a temporary expedient (cf. J. Whitehorne, *ANRW* II 10.1 602–4) since the document is still addressed to Ammonius in the first place. These names are welcome newcomers to the thin ranks of Arabian prosopography; indeed, there is only one entry in G. Bastianini–J. Whitehorne, *Strategi and Royal Scribes of Roman Egypt* (1987) 19, namely Sarapion alias Phantias from IX **1197** (revised R. A. Coles and P. J. Sijpesteijn, *CE* 61 (1986) 108–110). The date should be given there as '4–12 August, 208(?)'. Sarapion alias Phantias recurs in **4070** below (assignable only to 'c. 208'); the recurrence of his name in a text found at Oxyrhynchus must strengthen the probability that he was an Oxyrhynchite, and the same may well be true of Ammonius. For this phenomenon see J. Whitehorne, *ANRW* II 10.1 601.

All of the group **4063–7** are concerned with liturgies; the earliest, **4063**, is a liturgist's oath and the other four are nominations. **4063–5** all concern πυρὸς συναγορασ-  
 τικός, for which see **4063** introd.

The new texts are instructive for the topography of the region. More specific topics are reserved for the notes on the texts at the relevant points; we present here a general view of the overall situation. For the history of the 8th nome of Lower Egypt (Heroopolite) and the 20th nome (Arabia), with the associated problems of the Phagroriopolite and Arsinoite II, see H. Gauthier, *Les nomes d'Égypte* (Cairo, 1935), 109–10, 125–9, 138–42; P. Montet, *Géographie de l'Égypte ancienne* (Paris, 1957), 205–17; W. Helck, *Die altägyptischen Gaue* (Wiesbaden, 1974), 172–4, 197–8 and *Lexikon der Ägyptologie* II (Wiesbaden, 1977), s.v. Gaue, 397 (8. u. äg. Gau) and 401 (20. u. äg. Gau).

At the period of these texts (AD 183/4), the Arabian nome would appear to have covered a roughly crescent-shaped area, reaching from the eastern bank of the Bubastite (Pelusiac) branch of the Nile (at the mouth of the Wadi Tumilat in the south west, as far as Phacusae in the north) via the Wadi Tumilat (i.e. along Trajan's Canal) to at least Thaubasthis (4067 8) as its maximum north-east extent, and then perhaps curving south to the Gulf of Suez. This is a large area for one nome and its administration must have been difficult, but much of it of course was probably only thinly populated, and in terms simply of population the whole area may not have differed so much from other nomes. Some of this area belonged to other nomes at different periods; we discuss the claims of the Heroopolite, Phagroriopolite and Arsinoite II below.

The capital of the Arabian nome at this time was Phacusae, ἡ Φακουσιτῶν πόλις (4063 21–22, 4064 5), which agrees with what we know from Ptolemy, *Geogr.* IV 5. 24 (for the other occurrences and variants of the name, see 4063 21–2 n.). Despite divergent opinion going back to Naville, *Goshen and the Shrine of Saft el-Henneh* (*Mem. Eg. Expl. Fund* 6: London, 1887), and still echoed in recent works, e.g. *A Guide to the Zenon Archive* II (= P. Lugd.-Bat. XXI/B) 500, according to which the city occupied the site of modern Saft el-Henna, Phacusae should be identifiable with modern Fâqûs, even though the identification cannot be archaeologically documented and is based on phonetic similarity combined with the difficulty of finding a satisfactory Arabic etymology (J. de Rougé, *Géographie ancienne de la Basse Égypte* (Paris, 1891) 131–9). If we locate Phacusae at Fâqûs, we are forced to conclude that there had been a change in the location of the metropolis of the nome. In Pharaonic times and still in the Ptolemaic period, as the Edfu temple list shows (*Edfou* I 335), the 20th nome of Lower Egypt (I3bt, 'the East'), i.e. Arabia, had as its capital Pr-Spdw, located with certainty by Naville's 1885 excavations at Saft el-Henna, around 30 km south west of Fâqûs, in the plain between Zagazig (Bubastis) and the western end of the Wadi Tumilat (cf. P. Montet, *Géographie* 206 ff.). Besides, Strabo mentions Phacusae as a κώμη (17.1.26; C805), although one should perhaps not expect precise administrative terminology from Strabo, see P. Pédech, 'La géographie urbaine chez Strabon', in *Ancient Society* 2 (1971) 241. Of Pr-Spdw/Saft el-Henna we know neither the Greek nor the Latin name. The identification of Saft el-Henna with Ἀραβία in A. Calderini, *Diz.*



*geogr.* I 2.180 is the product of confusion. Cf. H. Kees, *RE* XIX.2 1611.53 ff.; S. Timm, *Das christlich-koptische Ägypten in arabischer Zeit* ii (Wiesbaden, 1984) 924.

The greater part of Trajan's Canal lay within the Arabian nome; thus it is not surprising that contracts for working on it (**4070** below) come within the competence of the strategus of the nome. **4070** indicates that the metropolis Phacusae lay close to (περί) the canal. Modern Fâqûs lies some 30 km from where the nearest point of the canal would have been on its route north-eastwards turning into the Wadi Tumilat. We are inclined to propose that at the point where the canal bent eastwards there was a branch which continued north-eastwards, passing Phacusae and giving access to the north-eastern Delta, and that this branch was also known as Trajan's Canal: cf. **4070** 8 n.

Areas of the Arabian nome, as it is revealed by our new texts, had belonged to different nomes at different times, which we shall now consider.

From our new texts we see that the Arabian nome now included Heroopolis (**4067** 7), Pithom in the Bible, which had been the capital of the 8th nome of Lower Egypt, called Pr-'Itm Tkw (or simply Tkw) in the hieroglyphic sources, Πάτουμος ἡ Ἀραβίη πόλις in Herodotus (II 158), today Tell el-Mas'chûta, near the eastern end of the Wadi Tumilat (cf. P. Montet, *Géographie* I 213 ff.; H. Goedicke, *Lex. d. Äg.* VI, s. vv. Tell el-Maschûta and Tell er-Retabe; E. Kettenhofen, *Orientalia Lovaniensia Periodica* 20 (1989) 75–97; A. B. Lloyd, *Herodotus Book II* (Leiden, 1988), pp. 154–5). The Heroopolite is further included in the Edfu and Dendera temple lists, and is also mentioned by Pliny (*NH* V 50) but as the alternative name for another nome (cf. below). By the period of the present texts, however, Heroopolis is clearly a village (**4067** 7), not a nome capital, and its territory has been absorbed into the Arabian nome; the Heroopolite nome can no longer exist, and indeed Ptolemy does not list it (*Geogr.* IV 5.24).

The 8th nome of Lower Egypt, i.e. the Heroopolite, is attested from at least the 5th dynasty and would have stretched for some 50 km from west to east, from the Pelusiac branch of the Nile (at the level of Abu Hammad) across the Wadi Tumilat as far as the isthmus of Suez. It was not until the second half of the 8th century BC that the western part of this area was made into a nome in its own right, the 20th of the lists, i.e. Arabia, of which the capital as already said was Pr-Spdw (Saft el-Henna). This situation was still valid in the Ptolemaic period: the 8th nome survived as the Heroopolite with its capital Heroopolis (= Tkw) and the 20th nome as Arabia, even though we do not know the Greek name for its capital Pr-Spdw. Prior to the time when Ptolemy drew up his *Geography* during the second century AD, there was a double change (whether simultaneous or not we do not know): the two nomes were united as one again, which kept the name Arabia (i.e. the name of the less ancient nome), and the capital of this reunified area was established further north on the Pelusiac branch of the Nile, at Phacusae (Fâqûs). Our new papyri reflect this situation.

In such a picture it is difficult to find a place for the Phagroriopolite nome,



mentioned by Strabo. After writing of the canal leading to the Red Sea at Arsinoe, he adds (17.1.26; C804–5): πλησίον δὲ τῆς Ἀρσινόης καὶ ἡ τῶν Ἡρώων ἐστὶ πόλις καὶ ἡ Κλεοπατρὶς ἐν τῷ μυχῶ τοῦ Ἀραβίου κόλπου τῷ πρὸς Αἴγυπτον καὶ λιμένες καὶ κατοικίαι διώρυγές τε πλείους καὶ λίμναι πλησιάζουσιν τούτοις· ἐνταῦθα δ' ἐστὶ καὶ ὁ Φαγρωριοπολίτης νομὸς καὶ πόλις Φαγρωριόπολις. ἡ δὲ ἀρχὴ τῆς διώρυγος τῆς ἐκδιδούσης εἰς τὴν Ἐρυθρὰν ἀπὸ κώμης ἄρχεται Φακούσης κτλ. (Cf. Steph. Byz. 654.10–12 Meineke.) Strabo, then, regards Phagroriopolis and its nome as located near the Gulf of Suez, and also near the course of the canal running from Phacusae to Arsinoe on the Red Sea—the same canal, of course, as was later known as Trajan's Canal (4070 8 n.).

Other mentions of Phagroriopolis are even less precise regarding its location. From XI 1380 46–7 (Φραγοῦρων πόλει), of the first or second century AD, one can deduce only a probable general location in the eastern part of the Delta: cf. the introd. there, p. 194. In Anon. Ravenn. (III 2, 130.9 Pinder-Parthy), *Phagorior* is inserted in a list which includes (besides other unidentifiable localities) *Thenis* (= Tanis?), *Cassion* (= Mons Casius?), *Olumna* (= Clysma?), *Phaguse* (= Phacusae), *Eron* (= Heroopolis), *Memphisin* (= Memphis?), *Heraceupolis* (= Heracleopolis Parva?), *Pelusion*; it is clear that here too we are dealing with places all located more or less in the area of the eastern Delta. According to Daressy (cf. Gauthier, *Nomes* 104), Phagroriopolis will have been situated in the Wadi Tumilat, not far from its western end. See also H. K. Brugsch, *Dictionnaire géographique de l'ancienne Égypte* (Leipzig, 1879–80), 856–8; F. Gomaa, *Die libyschen Fürstentümer des Deltas* (Wiesbaden, 1974), 57 n. 48, 105–6.

On the basis of a suggestion going back to Gauthier, *Nomes* 104, W. Helck, *Gaue* 173 with Karte 8 upheld the identification of the Phagroriopolite with the Heroopolite, and identified Pr-Grr on the stele of Piankhi (c. 730 BC) with Phagroriopolis and Heroopolis. The text of Strabo (17.1.26; C805), mentioning the two latter cities separately, is against their identification, as is Anon. Ravenn. (p. 130.9) listing both *Phagorior* and *Eron*. Strabo may be unreliable in this respect. In the same section in which Heroopolis and Phagroriopolis are separately mentioned, Arsinoe and Cleopatris are mentioned as if they are two different cities; yet just before (17.1.25; C804), writing of the Red Sea outlet of the canal coming from the Nile, Strabo places it κατὰ πόλιν Ἀρσινόην ἣν ἔνιοι Κλεοπατρίδα καλοῦσιν. Cf. Gauthier, *Nomes* 128 nn. 6, 7. In an Edfu temple list (*Edfou* I 335 line 11) it is said that in the 20th nome of Lower Egypt (= Arabia) ʿ3ḏw fishes, i.e. mullets, were considered sacred. Cf. I. Gamer-Wallert, *Fische und Fischkulte im alten Ägypten* (Wiesbaden, 1970), 101–7. With the mullet may be identified the fish φαγρώριος, ὃν καὶ φάγρον καλοῦσιν (Strabo 17.2.4; C823. For the φάγρος see D. J. Brewer and R. F. Friedman, *Fish and fishing in ancient Egypt* (1989) 53–4). This fish was also worshipped elsewhere in Egypt, but it is obviously easy to associate the word φαγρώριος and Phagroriopolis. Phagroriopolis, then, could be 'the city where the fishes called φαγρώριοι were considered sacred'; and if this city, in the Ptolemaic period, was situated in the area of the 20th nome, identification with Heroopolis is untenable and its location should rather be sought in the area already

indicated by Daressy (see above). Since a Phagroriopolite nome does not figure in the Edfu temple lists nor in other late Ptolemaic lists (the so-called 21st nome, with the fish ⲓn as its symbol, should not have any bearing on this issue; cf. Gauthier, *Nomes* 69 ff.; Helck, *Gaue* 185–6; Gamer-Wallert, *Fische* 106–7), and is mentioned neither by Pliny nor Ptolemy, Strabo may have used the name *Φαγρωριοπολίτης* to indicate what at his time was correctly the Arabian nome (this idea is already in A. H. M. Jones, *The Cities of the Eastern Roman Provinces*<sup>2</sup> (Oxford, 1971) 299, even if the same author then places Phagroriopolis more to the east, by the Bitter Lakes, thus in the territory of the Heroopolite); parallel with this, *Φαγρωρίοπολις* could be the Greek name of its capital Pr-Spdw. One can perhaps recognize a link between the root *φαγρωρ*—and the city of Pr-Spdw through the well-known P3-Grr, prince of Pr-Spdw (c. 667 BC), cf. Helck, *Gaue* 198, but this introduces us to a different (frog) etymology for Phagroriopolis. Certainly, if it is admitted that Phagroriopolis could be Pr-Spdw, the identification (on the same ‘frog’ etymology) of Phagroriopolis with Pr-Grr (Helck, *Gaue* 173) can no longer be maintained, inasmuch as on the stele of Piankhi Pr-Spdw and Pr-Grr figure as separate cities. S. Timm, *Das christlich-koptische Ägypten in arabischer Zeit* ii (Wiesbaden, 1984) 940–944 proposes to identify Phagroriopolis with the Arabic al-Farrāḡīn (= *Φραγῶνις*), in the northern Delta; but, apart from the phonological problems, such a location will not well accord with the evidence of Strabo. The administrative situation, then, as envisaged by Strabo would conform with what had been the situation previously, with *Φαγρωρίοπολις* (Pr-Spdw) as capital of the *Φαγρωριοπολίτης νομός* (Arabia, the 20th nome) and more to the east *Ηρώων πόλις* as capital of the Heroopolite nome (the 8th nome). The reunification of the two nomes and the transfer of the capital of the reunited area to Phacusae will have taken place before the mid-second century AD, when Ptolemy composed his *Geography*. The reunification may already have taken place by the time of Trajan, given that none of the so-called ‘nome coins’ attests the Heroopolite, while there are several examples from year 13 of Trajan (109/110) and year 11 of Hadrian (126/7) in which figure the name and image of *Ἀραβία*: cf. G. Dattari, *Monete imperiali greche* I (Cairo, 1901), 402 (nos. 6204–5); J. Vogt, *Die alexandrinischen Münzen* (Stuttgart, 1924), 61 n. 319; A. Geissen and W. Weiser, *Katalog Alexandrinischer Kaisermünzen* 4 (= *Papyrologica Coloniensia* 5; Opladen, 1983), 132 no. 3380; J. Lallemand, *CE* 38 (1963) 310. This, however, is an *argumentum ex silentio*; but cf. further below.

Another nome still is potentially involved in this area, the ‘other’ Arsinoite, mentioned by Pliny (*NH* V 50): *Arsinoitae duo sunt; hi et Memphites usque ad summum Delta perveniunt, cui sunt contermini ex Africa duo Oasitae. Quidam ex his aliqua nomina permutant et substituunt alios nomos, ut Heroopoliten et Crocodilopoliten*. This topic is well discussed by Gauthier, *Nomes* 109–10, 125–9, 140. Gauthier’s preferred solution (128–9), that the ‘other’ Arsinoite is an alternative name for the Heroopolite, current in the first century AD, is accepted by Helck, *Gaue* 173. This Arsinoite nome would include the port of Arsinoe. There is no suggestion that this Arsinoite was a yet further subdivision

of our area. If the Arsinoite II were to be identified with the Heroopolite, Gauthier supposes (129)—in explanation of Pliny's *usque ad summum Delta perveniunt*—that this administrative area may have extended to the south west (from the western end of the Wadi Tumilat?) as far as *la région avoisinant le sommet du Delta*. Such an extent for the Heroopolite will not easily fit in with the area of the 20th nome/the Arabian nome. Gauthier's alternative (127), that Pliny's two Arsinoites = the two strategus-divisions of the Fayûm (for this in the first century AD see G. Bastianini and J. Whitehorne, *Strategi and Royal Scribes* 21, 39 and 43), would leave the Heroopolite with its alternative name still to be discovered. If by the Heroopolite Pliny meant an alternative name for Arabia (*pace* Gauthier, 140), this would give us a *terminus ante quem* for the reunification earlier than Ptolemy and our second-century texts in this volume, i.e. around AD 77, when Book V of the *Naturalis Historia* was composed; cf. Gauthier, *Nomes* 105.

GUIDO BASTIANINI  
REVEL COLES

### 4063. SWORN DECLARATION OF A LITURGIST

46 5B.51/G(3-4)b

11.5 × 34.9 cm

October/November 183

Sworn declaration addressed to the strategus of the Arabian nome by a *εὐεχήμεων* of a village in the nome, nominated to accompany a quantity of requisitioned wheat to Alexandria and hand it over to the administration of the Neapolis granaries. **4064-5** also concern the transport of such requisitioned wheat, *πυρὸς συναγοραστικός* – *δείγματα* or samples in **4064**, not the grain itself as here. Alexandria is the destination in those texts as well.

The papyrus seems to be a valid document, coming as it does with autograph subscription by the liturgist's guarantor and another by an assistant of the strategus, yet curiously a space was left blank (6) for the quantity of grain to be transported; the day of the month seems to have been omitted from the date (26), and there are other oddities of wording (see 12 n.).

The liturgist's guarantor is a former *archiereus* of the nome capital Phacusae.

Sworn declarations regarding the taking up of liturgies are listed by N. Lewis, *Compulsory Public Services* (*Pap. Flor.* XI) 121, Table 4.

On *πυρὸς συναγοραστικός* or *frumentum emptum* in general see XLI **2958** introd. and XLVII **3335** introd.; see also LVII **3910**, and **4056** above. **4063-5** are our first witnesses for such a requisition in autumn 183. The requisition was levied on the harvest of the 23rd year = summer 183, see **4064**. Consignment of *πυρὸς συναγοραστικός* to Alexandria was explicitly known before now only from P. Lond. II 301 (p. 256) = M. Chr. 340, from the period 138-161. We do not know the price at which the grain was requisitioned on the present occasion, nor do we have any data on the quantities levied (although an amount should have been stated in **4063**). We do not know if all the



Arabian nome was involved, or only part of it. In **4063** 3 the name of the village remains unread; in **4065** 8 the location of *Τορόυ* is not certain; the liturgist obliged to accompany the consignment of samples in **4064** came from the village of Eleira, located in a *comogrammateia* which comprised other villages too and formed part of a *toparchy* 'above the city of the Phacusites'. It seems likely that the requisition affected the entire nome.

The grain was to be delivered to the Neapolis (Alexandria) granaries, but we do not know its ultimate destination. The involvement of a centurion (**4063** 9) indicates that a military destination is probable, but this might be soldiers in Alexandria or armies outside Egypt. There were problems in Dacia in 182–4, and in Britain in ?184. However, questions of distance apart, there is no need to think of a situation of military emergency. Economic emergency is another matter: cf. XLI **2958** introd. We have no data on the quality of the Nile flood in 182; that of 183 itself—perhaps the most likely candidate, if the requisition was at all the result of the quality of a flood—was possibly 'médiocre', see D. Bonneau, *Le fisc et le Nil* 251. Of course, if the grain were being transported beyond Egypt, it would be the agricultural situation at its destination that would be relevant, not that in Egypt.

The back is blank. On the back can be seen the remains of a *kollesis*, occurring at the extreme right of the front.

Ἀμμωνίῳ στρατηγῳ Ἀραβ(ίας)  
 Πανοτβεῦς Ψιβήχιος μητρὸς  
 Ταφεσιήους ἀπὸ κώμης . . . . .  
 ἀναδοθεὶς εὐςχήμων ἐ[ῖ]ς τὸ  
 5 παραλαβεῖν συναγ[ο]ραστικῶ  
 πυροῦ (ἀρτάβας) (vac.) πεμπομέν. .  
 εἰς τὸν τῆς Νέας Πόλεως χειρισ(μὸν)  
 ἀκολουθῶς τῇ γραφείῃ σοι ὑπὸ  
 [᾽Γ]ουλίου Μακεδόνο (ἐκατοντάρχου), ὁμνύω  
 10 τὴν Αὐρηλίου Κομμόδου Ἀντωνίνου  
 Καίσαρος τοῦ κυρίου τύχην ἔξαι-  
 τῆς παραλήμψεσθαι τὰς ἀπὸ  
 ἐμβαλομένας εἰς πλοῖα  
 συναγοραστικῶ πυροῦ καὶ ταύτας  
 15 κ[ατά]ξιεν εἰς Ἀλεξάνδρειαν καὶ  
 παραδῶσειν εἰς τὸν τῆς Νέας  
 Πόλεως χειρισμὸν καὶ κομιεῖν  
 ἀντιφώνησιν. ἡ χειρογραφία

- κυρία. παρέσχον δὲ ἑμαυτοῦ  
 20 ἐν[γυ]ητήν Ἀπολλών<ιον> Ἀβνησίου  
 ἀρχιερατεύσαντα πόλεως Φακου-  
 ρειτῶν.  
 (ἔτους) κδ Αὐτοκράτορος Καίσαρος Μάρκου  
 Αὐρηλ[ίο]υ Κ[ομμ]όδου Ἀντωνίνου  
 25 Σεβαστοῦ [Α]ρμενιakoῦ Μηδικoῦ Παρθικοῦ  
 Σαρματικοῦ Γερμανικοῦ Μεγίστου, Ἀθὺρ (*vac.*).  
 (m. 2) Πανοτβεῦς Πιβήχιος μητρὸς Ταπησιῆος  
 ὧμοσα τὸν ὄρκον ὥς πρόκειται. Ἀπολλώνιος  
 Ἀβνησίου ἀρχιἀρχιαρτευσαν ἔγραψα ὑπ<ἐρ>  
 30 αὐτοῦ μὴ εἰδ[ό]τος γράμματα καὶ ἐν-  
 γοιώμῃ αὐτόν. (m. 3) Ποσιδώνι<ο>ς ἐν κλήρῳ  
 ὑπηρετῶν ἐπηκολούθησα.
- 1 αρ<sup>β</sup> 6 Ɱ 7 χειριτ 9 ϝ 20 l. ἐγγυητήν 21-22 l. Φακουσιτῶν  
 23 L 29 l. ἀρχιερατεύσας. εγγρ written over other letters (τος?) 30 Second μ of γράμματα corr.  
 or re-written 30-1 l. ἐγγυώμαι

‘To Ammonius, strategus of Arabia, (from) Panotbeus son of Psibechis, my mother being Taphesies, from the village of ... Having been nominated as a notable to undertake the consignment of *x* artabas of requisitioned wheat being sent to the administration of Neapolis, in accordance with the (letter) written to you by Julius Macedon, centurion, I swear by the fortune of Aurelius Commodus Antoninus Caesar the lord that I will promptly undertake the consignment of the (*x* artabas) of requisitioned wheat from (the harvest of the 23rd year), loaded on board ship, and that I will convey them to Alexandria and hand them over to the administration of Neapolis and obtain a receipt. The chirograph is normative. As my guarantor I have provided Apollonius son of Abnesius, ex-*archiereus* of the city of the Phacusites.

‘Year 24 of Emperor Caesar Marcus Aurelius Commodus Antoninus Augustus Armeniacus Medicus Parthicus Sarmaticus Germanicus Maximus, Hathyr (*vac.*).’

(2nd hand) ‘I, Panotbeus son of Pibechis, my mother being Tapesies, have sworn the oath as aforesaid. I, Apollonius son of Abnesius, ex-*archiereus*, wrote on his behalf because he is illiterate, and I guarantee him.’ (3rd hand) ‘I, Posidonius, one of the selected number from whom appointment as *hyperetes* will be made by lot, have supervised the transaction.’

2 Πανοτβεῦς. Cf. 27. A form of the common Egyptian name p3-n3-dḃ3.w, variously transliterated as Πανετβεῦς, Πανεδβεῦς, Πανετβήους, Παντβεῦς, Παντβεῦς or Παντβήους. Cf. J. Vergote, *Les noms propres de P. Bruxelles Inv. E. 7616* (= P. Lugd.-Bat. VII) nos. 60, 100.

Ψιβήχιος. Variant of Πιβήχιος (27). The name is the Egyptian p3-n-bjk translated in Greek as *Ἰέραξ*



and *Τερακίων*; cf. T. Hopfner, *Arch. Or. Prag.* 15 (1944) 29, J. Vergote, *op. cit.* 4 and no. 102, and P. Amst. I 72.3–5 with the comment of P. Van Minnen, *ΖΡΕ* 62 (1986) 89 and n. 12.

3 *Ταφεσις* is the feminine form of *Φεσις*; cf. J. Vergote, *op. cit.* no. 122. At the end of the line it does not seem possible to find the name of any of the villages mentioned in **4064–7**.

4 *εὐεχήμεων*. Lat. *honestus*. Cf. LII **3694** 3 n., LVII **3912** 19–20 n., N. Lewis, *Compulsory Public Services* (= *Pap. Flor.* XI) 76, and M. E. Larson, *The Officials of Karanis* (diss. 1954) 90. The names of these village notables were kept on registers, see BGU I 194.6, P. Petaus 87.1, *Aegyptus* 66 (1986) 45 and P. Alex. Giss. 36. The tasks assigned to *εὐεχήμενες* are effectively liturgic. *εὐεχήμενες* were employed on other occasions to assure the transport of grain to Alexandria: cf. P. Warren, 5.5, P. Meyer 14.4 (*BL* III 106), and P. Lond. II 301.1 (p. 256; *BL* III 93) where too *πυρὸς συναγοραστικός* is concerned. On this task cf. A. J. M. Meyer-Termeer, *Die Haftung der Schiffer* 55–6.

On P. Rainer Cent. pp. 338–9 see D. Hagedorn, *ΖΡΕ* 53 (1983) 235.

4–5 *ἀναδοθεῖς* ... *ἐ[?]ς τὸ παραλαβεῖν*. Cf. e.g. XLIII **3091** 5, **3109** 20–1. For the technical term *ἀναδίδωμι* see Lewis, *Compulsory Public Services* 58. The use of *παραλαμβάνω* (cf. 12) marks the undertaking as a *παράληψις* and Panotheus as a *παραλήπτης συναγοραστικοῦ πυροῦ*. For this appointment see Lewis *op. cit.* 41–2.

6 *πεμπομέν* ... The traces would admit either *πεμπομένου* or *πεμπομένας*.

7 *εἰς τὸν τῆς Νέας Πόλεως χειρισμόν*. For *Νέα Πόλις* see A. Calderini, *Diz. geogr.* I 1 131–2; III 4 (*cur.* S. Daris), 323. *χειρισμός*, the granary administration: I follow Wilcken's interpretation (*Hermes* 63 (1928) 59 ff., *Grundz.* 369, 507–8 (on no. 432), 523 (on no. 444)), and not that of Rostovzeff (see P. Giss. 11. 11 n.) who saw in the *χειρισμός* a corporation of *naukleroi* who would have effected the grain transport from Alexandria to Rome on the state's behalf. The appearance of *ναύκληροι χειρισμοῦ Νέας Πόλεως* seems insufficient reason to identify the simple *χειρισμός* as a corporation of shipowners, although such a corporation may well have existed. More probably such *naukleroi* were contracted to the government in the sense that they customarily hired their vessels to the government for the grain transport; in virtue of this regular arrangement, they might reasonably be termed 'naukleroi of the administration of Neapolis.'

In support of this interpretation it may be noted that in place of *εἰς τὸν τῆς Νέας Πόλεως χειρισμόν* we find *εἰς τοὺς ἐν τῇ Νέᾳ Πόλει θησαυρούς* (**4064** 9–10, **4065** 1–2; also P. Meyer 14.7–8 where the reading should be *εἰς [τοὺς] / [θησαυρ]οὺς*). For a discussion of the various expressions used to describe the consignees, see P. Oxy. Hels. 20.20 n. Cf. especially P. Warren 5.7 ff. on the basis of which SPP XX 32.19–20 should be restored *εἰς Ἀλεξάνδρειαν εἰς τὸν ἐν τῇ Νέᾳ Πόλει χειρισμόν* / *καὶ παραδώσω τοῖς π[ρὸς τοῦτοις οὐκ ὕγιως]*. In X **1259** 22–3 we should read *καὶ παραδώ[ε]ω [εἰς τὸν ἐν τῇ Νέᾳ Πόλει χειρ]ιςμόν*. As a result, neither *ἀρχολογούμενοι τὸν χειρισμόν* (proposed as recipients in **1259** 22) nor *οἱ πρὸς τῷ χειρισμῷ* (proposed by Wessely as the recipients in SPP XX 32.20) have been expressly attested.

Rostovzeff's interpretation of *χειρισμός* is challenged also by J. Vélissaropoulos, *Les naulères grecs* 110–111 and 118–121, according to whom an association of the *naukleroi* of the administration of Neapolis is not securely attested before 231 (SPP XX 32); the development into a liturgy of the position of *naukleros* is attested not long after (XII **1418**, of 247). A. J. M. Meyer-Termeer, *Die Haftung der Schiffer* 11–12 only touches on the question of the *χειρισμός*.

8 *τῇ γραφείῃ σοι* (*sc. ἐπιστολῇ*). Cf. II **276** 15.

9 The centurion Julius Macedon is not known from elsewhere.

12 *τάς*. The word *ἀρτάβας* and the indication of quantity were never written.

*ἀπό*. Apparently there has been an omission of *γενήματος κγ* (*ἔτους*), cf. **4064** 11. The correct wording would have been *παραλήμψεσθαι τὰς ἀπὸ <γενήματος κγ (ἔτους)> συναγοραστικοῦ πυροῦ <ἀρτάβας x> ἐμβαλομένας κτλ.*

15 *κατά* ξειν. See C. Spicq, *Anagenesis* 1 (1981) 106.

17–18 *κομπεῖν ἀντιφώνησιν*. Cf. X **1260** 14–15, XXII **2347** 9 and P. Vindob. Sijp. i 1 17–18, ii 15–17. 20 *Ἀβνήσιος* is new.

21–2 *πόλεως Φακουσιτών*. Cf. H. Kees, *PW RE* XIX 1611–1612, s.v. Phakusa 2; A. Calderini–S. Daris, *Diz. geogr.* V 54. On the location and history of the city see the general introduction to **4063–7**. The form of the name is similar in **4064** 5. The city is called *Φακουσῶν μητροπόλεως* in IX **1197** 3–4 (re-ed. R. Coles and P. J. Sijpesteijn, *CE* 66 (1986) 108–110), and simply *Φακουσῶν* in lines 5–6 (but *sc. μητροπόλεως* there) and 20. In **4070** 8–9 we find *Φακούσας τὴν μητρόπολιν*. In Ptolemaic papyri (PSI V 543.10, SB XII 10867.9) the city name has doubled sigma, *Φακούσσαι*. In literary sources, *Φάκουσσαι* (codd.; *Φακόεσσαι* em. Meineke)

may be evidenced for Hecataeus in Steph. Byz., where however it is lemmatized as *Φάκουσα* (but the MSS tradition also supplies *Φάκουναι* and *Φάκουσα*!); cf. F. Jacoby, *FGrH* I A 1. F 303 (p. 40). In Strabo 17.1.26 (C.805) the name of the city (in the genitive) is variously recorded by the MSS, but always in the singular; Meineke (Teubner 1853) accepts the form *Φακούσης*, Jones (Loeb 1944) *Φακούσσης*. It appears in Ptol. *Geogr.* IV 5.24, likewise in the singular, in the variants *Φάκουσα* and *Φακούσα*. Athanasius, *Apol. contra Arianos* 71 writes *ἐν Φακουαῖς*. In Anon. Ravenn. it appears as *Phaguse*.

23–6 The date is written much more cursively than 1–22 but is by the same writer.

29–31 See *app. crit.* Apollonius the proxy-writer is unusually incompetent.

31–2 *ἐν κλήρῳ ὑπηρετών*. For the *κλήρος* procedure in liturgic appointments, and the significance of this *ἐν κλήρῳ* formula, see Lewis, *Compulsory Public Services* 86–8; J. D. Thomas, *The Roman Epistrategos* (= *Pap. Colon.* VI) 69–74.

GABRIELLA MESSERI SAVORELLI

#### 4064. NOMINATION TO A LITURGY

46 5B.51/G(6–7)b

9.3 × 34.5 cm

15 December 183

Like **4065–7** this document is a nomination to a liturgy, presented to the strategus by a comogrammateus. Parallel texts are listed by N. Lewis, *Compulsory Public Services* 114–7 (Table I); see also CPR VII pp. 74–8.

As in **4063** and **4065**, the liturgy in question concerns *πυρὸς συναγοραστικός* (*frumentum emptum*) being conveyed to the granaries of Neapolis in Alexandria. On *πυρὸς συναγοραστικός* see **4063** introd.

In **4064** the nominee will be required to undertake the *δειγματοκαταγωγή* of the *πυρὸς συναγοραστικός*, that is, he will have to escort to the Neapolis granaries the samples (*δείγματα*) already abstracted from a cargo of wheat requisitioned from a specific area (the *κωμογραμματεία*?). For nominations relating to *δείγματα*, cf. P. Petaus 55–7 and X **1254**. On the *δειγματοκαταγωγή* see Lewis, *Compulsory Public Services* 20–21, and especially P. Petaus 55–8 introd. On the transport of grain to Alexandria in general note P. Oxy. Hels. 20 introd.

This is the first document to attest *δειγματοκαταγωγή* in connection with *πυρὸς συναγοραστικός*; previously it was attested only in connection with *δημόσιος πυρός*. It is not clear whether this surveillance of samples of requisitioned wheat is simply an instance of a routine procedure. *πυρὸς συναγοραστικός* in bulk was already being transported to Neapolis from the Arabian nome a month earlier, see **4063**.

There is a manufacturer's kollesis at the extreme right edge. The back is blank.

Ἀμμωνί[ω]ι στρ(ατηγῶ) Ἀραβ(ίας)

παρὰ Δ[ιο]σκόρου κω–

μογραμματέως Ηλειρων

καὶ ἄλ(λων) κωμῶν μέρους

5 το(παρχίας) ὑ(πὲρ) Φακ[ους]εῖτων πόλ(ιν).

αἰτούμενος ὑπὸ σοῦ  
 ὄνομ[α εἰ]ς δειγ[ματο]καταγω(γίαν)  
 πυροῦ καταγομέν[ο]ν  
 εἰς Ἀλεξάνδρειαν εἰς τοὺς  
 10 [έ]ν τῇ Νέα Πόλει θησαν[ροῦ]ς  
 ἀ[πὸ] γ[ε]νήμα[τ]ος κγ (ἔτους) [κυ]ν-  
 αγοραστικῶν πυ[ροῦ]  
 δίδωμι τὸν ὑπο[γ]εγρ(αμμένον)  
 ὄντα εὐπορον καὶ ἐπιτή-  
 15 δειον·  
 ἔστι δέ·  
 Ψό[ις] μητρὸς Θαήσιος τῇ[ς] Πα-  
 χώθου (ἐτών) λγ  
 ἀπὸ κώμης Ἡλειρῶν  
 20 ἔχων πό(ρον) οἶκον(πέδων) (δραχμῶν) χ.  
 (ἔτους) κδ Αὐτοκράτο[ρος]  
 Καίσαρος Μάρκου Αὐρ[ηλί]ου  
 Κομμόδο[υ] Αντωνίν[ο]ν Σεβαστοῦ  
 Ἀρμενιᾶκῶν Μηδικῶν  
 25 Παρθικῶν Σαρματικῶν  
 Γερμανικῶν Μεγίστου, Ἀδρι(ανοῦ) τῇ.  
 (m. 2?) Διόσκορος κωμογρ(αμματεὺς) ἐπιδ(έδωκα) δι(ὰ) Διδύ(μον)  
 βοηθοῦ.

18 L 1 cτpδapaβ 20 7 οικo)ς 4 α 5 το)ν-; 1. Φακουσιτών; πολ 7 ]καταγω 11 κγδ 13 ]εγρδ  
 21 L 26 αδρ 27 κωμογρς επιδιδυ

‘To Ammonius, strategus of Arabia, from Dioscorus, comogrammateus of Eleira and other villages forming part of the toparchy above the city of the Phacusites.

‘Being asked by you for a name for the conveyance of samples of the requisitioned wheat from the produce of the 23rd year being conveyed to Alexandria to the granaries in Neapolis, I nominate the person named below, who is of adequate means and suitable. As follows:

‘Psois, his mother being Thaesis, daughter of Pachothos, aged 33, from the village of Eleira, and having building property worth 600 drachmas.

‘Year 24 of Imperator Caesar Marcus Aurelius Commodus Antoninus Augustus Armeniacus Medicus Parthicus Sarmaticus Germanicus Maximus, the 18th of the month Hadrianus.’

(2nd hand?) 'I, Dioscorus comogrammateus, presented this through Didymus, assistant.'

1, 2, 6 The initial letters of these lines are much enlarged.

3 The village name, which recurs in 19, is new.

4-5 μέρους το(παρχίας). Cf. **4066** 5-6. The wording is unusual; we suppose the apparently superfluous μέρους to be in apposition to what precedes.

5 ὁ(πέρ) Φακ[ου]εῖτων πόλιν. The toparchy perhaps comprised the cultivated zone along the Pelusiac branch of the Nile, to the south of the city.

8-12 πυροῦ ... πυ[ροῦ]. These lines are structurally awkward. Replacing πυροῦ in 8 with τοῦ (which cannot be read, however) would obviate the difficulty.

14-15 Cf. N. Lewis, *Compulsory Public Services* 76. The formula τῷ ἐμῷ κινδύνῳ (present in **4065** 6, **4066** 13, **4067** 18-19) is lacking here. Its absence does not seem significant: in the three liturgic nominations in the Petaus archive that relate to δείγματα, the formula is present in two (P. Petaus 55, 57) and lacking in one (P. Petaus 56). In general, see Lewis *op. cit.* 69-71.

20 On πόρος see Lewis *op. cit.* 74-6. The amount of the πόρος of a potential liturgist was regularly assessed only on his holdings of real property, and thus this is rarely made explicit in the text of a nomination; the present text and **4065** and **4067** are among the few exceptions. Others are P. Leit. 1.9, 11, 14, 17 (= SB VIII 10192), BGU VII 1566.16-17, and P. Ryl. II 90 i 19, ii 38, 42, 49.

26 Ἀδρ(ιανοῦ). The honorific month name Ἀδριανός = Χοιάκ. See K. Scott, *JCS* 2 (1931) 261-2.

28 A βοηθός of a comogrammateus is attested in P. Hamb. I 11.20. Cf. **4065** 16 and **4066** 33.

GUIDO BASTIANINI

#### 4065. NOMINATION TO A LITURGY

46 5B.51/G(11-12)b

9.4 × 28.2 cm

22 December 183

The papyrus preserves the foot only of a nomination to a liturgy, similar to **4064** above. Here too the liturgy concerns πυρὸς συναγοραστικός, but the loss of the upper part deprives us of the details.

Despite the loss of internal proof, the date and similarity of inventory numbers should suffice to place this text with **4063-4** and **4066-7** and to allow us to suppose that the addressee will have been Ammonius strategus of Arabia, attested in office (**4064** and **4066**) a few days each side of the date of **4065**.

There is a deep lower margin. The papyrus has been repaired at the right edge, before writing, giving the impression of a kollesis; the join is four layers thick, not three as in a normal kollesis (see LI **3624-6** introd. and P. Harr. II 212 introd.). The writing runs over the join in places. There is a thin vertical strip over the horizontal fibres (but overlaid by the writing) near to the same edge.

The back is blank.

[εἰς Ἀλεξάνδ]ρ[ειαν εἰς τοὺς]  
ἐν τῇ Νέᾳ Πόλει θησαυροῦς  
συναγοραστικοῦ πυροῦ



δίδωμι τὸν ὑπογεγραμμένον ὄντα  
 5 εὔπορον καὶ ἐπιτήδειον  
 τῷ ἐμῷ κινδύνῳ. ἔστι δέ·  
 Τούρβων Ἀρσώνσιος μη  
 τρὸς Θασεῖτος ἀπὸ *T. v* (ὡς ἐτῶν) κθ  
 ἔχω(ν) πό(ρον) οἰκο(πέδων) (δραχμῶν) λαιτικῆς | (ἀρουρῶν) ε  
 (δραχμῶν) Β[φ]  
 10 (γίνονται) (δραχμαὶ) Γυ.  
 (ἔτους) κδ Αὐτοκράτορος Καίσαρος  
 Μάρκου Αὐρηλίου Κομμόδου  
 Ἀντωνίνου Σεβαστοῦ Ἀρμενι[ακοῦ]  
 Μηδικοῦ Παρθικοῦ Σαρματικῶ  
 15 Γερμανικοῦ Μεγίστου, Ἀδριανοῦ κξ.  
 (m. 2) Ξρος κω(μογραμματοῦς) δ(ιὰ) Ἡρ(ωνος) τοῦ καὶ Ἀπολ(λωνίου)  
 βοηθ οὐ  
 ἐπιδ(έδωκα).

4 υπογεγραψ extended      9 εχω(ποικο)ς      10 —ς      16 κω-δ'ηρ<sup>ο</sup>, ἀπὸ<sup>λ</sup> Crossbar of θ in βοηθ  
 17 επιδ

'... to Alexandria to the granaries in Neapolis, of requisitioned wheat, at my own risk I nominate the person named below, who is of adequate means and suitable. As follows:

'Turbo son of Harsonsis, his mother being Thaseis, from Tohu(?), aged about 29(?), having building property worth 900 drachmas and 5 arouras of grain land worth 2500(?) drachmas; total 3400(?) drachmas.

'Year 24 of Imperator Caesar Marcus Aurelius Commodus Antoninus Augustus Armeniacus Medicus Parthicus Sarmaticus Germanicus Maximus, the 25th of the month Hadrianus.'

(2nd hand) 'I, Horus, comogrammateus, presented this through Heron alias Apollonius, assistant.'

8 *T. v*. Possibly only one letter between *T* and *v*. *Τορού* or *Τωύ* suggest themselves but I cannot confirm (or deny) either. Such a place name, variously spelt, is widely attested in Egypt: more than one location in the Hermopolite nome (M. Drew-Bear, *Le nome Hermopolite* 111–2, 305–8), possibly in the Oxyrhynchite (P. Pruneti, *I centri abitati dell' Ossirinchi* 206–7; M. Drew-Bear *op. cit.* (p. 306) differently), and in the Aphroditopolite and Heracleopolite: A. Calderini and S. Daris, *Diz. Geogr.* V. 20, 44. Despite the possible Oxyrhynchite references, a locality in the Arabian nome is to be sought here, see the introd. above. We already know of a locality in the Arabian nome with this name, viz. Thou (*Itin. Ant.* 163.2, 170.1) also written Tohu (*Not. dign. or.* 28.41), a village of which the precise position remains unknown but which was apparently situated near the western end of the Wadi Tumilat. The variants of the name are explicable, and comparison of Th–/Toh– forms with *Τοού*/*Τωύ* admissible, on the basis of Th– representing an aspirated



T—, thus TOT?O or TOT?Ω in Coptic: cf. the variant forms cited by Drew-Bear, *op. cit.* For θ pronounced in this way see F. T. Gignac, *Grammar* i 91.

κθ. The reading is very uncertain.

9–10 The numerals at the ends of these lines are extremely uncertain. For approximate land values at this period see A. C. Johnson, *Roman Egypt* (= *Econ. Survey* II) 152.

SIMONA RUSSO

#### 4066. NOMINATIONS TO A LITURGY

46 5B.51/G(3–4)a

11 × 33.5 cm

24 December 183

The papyrus is complete and contains liturgic nominations addressed to the strategus of the Arabian nome by a group of *πρεσβύτεροι* carrying out the functions of *κωμογραμματεὺς* for a group of villages in the nome. The nominees are to serve as *πυργοφύλακες* at two numbered *πύργοι* (see 15–16, 25) the locations of which are uncertain. Clearly we are concerned with guard posts at watch towers, possibly but not necessarily along a potentially hazardous route (cf. R. S. Bagnall, *CE* 57 (1982) 125–8; G. Fuchs, *Antike Welt* 19 (1988) 15–30; R. E. Zitterkopf and S. E. Sidebotham, *JEA* 75 (1989) 155–189 with plates XII–XV). None of the place names in 4066 helps to establish the location. The desert route that today links Cairo with Suez, in large part retracing the line of an ancient route from Babylon to Clysma, was flanked by fifteen towers (numbered from west to east, see e.g. map 80/66 ('Suez Road') in the 1:100,000 scale series published by the Survey of Egypt) which still survive in part. The age of these towers has not been ascertained, and our attempts to inspect and photograph them have not been successful.

The papyrus presents a number of peculiarities of onomastics, but this should not surprise us in a text from so thinly documented a region. See 17 n., 19 n.

Written in a rapid and competent hand with frequent abbreviations. Lines 28–32, containing the date formula, are in a smaller script but by the same hand. A second hand has added the subscription in lines 32–3. Another hand, perhaps, has added check marks before the names of the nominees (17, 19, 21, 23, 26; see also 1 n.).

Clearly visible near the left edge is a manufacturer's kollesis; the writing runs over it. Further still to the left there is much glue staining and the remains of vertical fibres and it looks as if another document, now detached, was at one time glued on to the left edge of 4066.

The back is blank.

/ 'Ριςη

Ἀμμωνίῳ στρατηγῶι Ἀραβίας

παρὰ Ψόϊτος καὶ μετόχ(ων) πρεσβ(υτέρων) δια–

- δεχομ(ένων) καὶ τὰ κατὰ τὴν κωμογρ(αμματείαν)  
 5 Ῥιση καὶ ἄλλων κωμῶν μέρους  
 τοπαρχίας (Τετρα)κωμίας κάτωι.  
 αἰτούμενοι ὑπὸ σοῦ ὀνόματα  
 πυργοφυλάκων διμήνου  
 Τῦβι Μεχεῖρ τοῦ ἐνεστῶτος κδ (ἔτους)  
 10 Μάρκου Αὐρηλίου Κομμόδου  
 Ἀντωνίνου Κα[ί]σαρος τοῦ κυρίου  
 δίδωμεν τοὺς ὑπ[ο]γεγρ(αμμένους) ὄντας  
 ἐπιτηδείους τῷ ἡμῶν κινδύνῳ.  
 ἔστι δέ·  
 15 εἰς μὲν τὸ(ν) κατὰ συνήθειαν ὄντα  
 πρῶτον πύργον  
 Πιεσιῆς Φιεβῶτος μητρὸς  
 Θαβεῖτος (ἐτῶν) κε ἀπὸ Τακαπέρθειας.  
 / Νιςθερωοῦς μητ(ρὸς) Θαβελλήους  
 20 (ἐτῶν) κ ἀπὸ Ψώφθειας.  
 / Φαῆσις πρεσβ(ύτερος) ἀπελεύθ(ερος) Τεῶτος  
 Φθάῦτος (ἐτῶν) λε ἀπὸ Ῥιση.  
 / Καυλλᾶς Ψοῖτος νεωτ(έρου) μητρὸς Θαήσι[ς]  
 (ἐτῶν) λε ἀπὸ τῆς αὐτῆς.  
 25 εἰς δὲ τὸ(ν) κατὰ Σκηνὰς ὄντα η̄ πύργον  
 / Φθάῦς Ἀρποκράτος Πετεθύμιος  
 μητ(ρὸς) Τιαθρήους (ἐτῶν) μ ἀπὸ Ῥιση.  
 (ἔτους) κδ Αὐτοκράτορος Καίσαρος Μ[ά]ρκου  
 Αὐρηλίου Κομμόδου Ἀντωνίνου  
 30 Σεβαστοῦ Ἀρμενιακοῦ Μηδικοῦ Παρθικοῦ  
 Καρματικοῦ Γερμανικοῦ Μεγίστου,  
 Ἀδριανοῦ κζ. (m. 2) Ψοῖς καὶ μέτοχ(οι) πρεσβ(ύτεροι)  
 διὰ [Α]μμωνίου βοηθ(οῦ) ἐπιδεδώκ(αμεν).

3 μετοχπρεσ<sup>β</sup> 3-4 διαδεχο<sup>μ</sup> 4 κωμογρ<sup>ς</sup> 6 δκωμίας; 1. κάτω 9 κδ<sup>ς</sup>  
 12 1. δίδομεν; υπογεγρ<sup>ς</sup> 15 τ<sup>ο</sup> 18 ∟; so in 20, 22, 24, 27 19 μη<sup>τ</sup> 20 Ψ written  
 over an erased Τα 21 πρεσ<sup>β</sup>απελευ<sup>θ</sup> 23 νεω<sup>τ</sup> 25 το 27 μη<sup>τ</sup> 28 ∟  
 30 Παρθικοῦ added, probably by the same hand 32 μετοχπρεσ<sup>β</sup> 33 βοη<sup>θ</sup>επιδεδω<sup>κ</sup>

‘Rhise.

‘To Ammonius, strategus of Arabia, from Psois and his partners, village elders, carrying out the functions of comogrammateus of Rhise and other villages which form part of the toparchy of the lower Tetrakomia. Being asked by you for the names of tower guards for the two-month period Tybi-Mecheir of the present 24th year of Marcus Aurelius Commodus Antoninus Caesar the lord, we nominate the persons listed below, who are suitable, at our own risk. As follows:

‘For the tower which is customarily called the first: Piesies son of Phiebos, his mother being Thabeis, aged 25, from Takaperthis. Nistheroüs, his mother being Thabelles, aged 20, from Psophthis. Phaesis the elder, freedman of Teos son of Phthaÿs, aged 35, from Rhise. Casyllas son of Psois the younger, his mother being Thaeisis, aged 35, from the same.

‘For the 8th tower, located at Scenae: Phthaÿs son of Harpocras son of Petethymis, his mother being Tiathres, aged 40, from Rhise.

‘The 24th year of Emperor Caesar Marcus Aurelius Commodus Antoninus Augustus Armeniacus Medicus Parthicus Sarmaticus Germanicus Maximus, the 27th of Hadrianus’. (2nd hand) ‘We, Psois and his partners, village elders, presented this through Ammonius, assistant.’

1 *‘Ριση*. Cf. 5, 22, (24) and 27. Presumably this was the most important village in the area for which Psois and his partners were responsible; besides being alone here in the heading, it is the only village named in 5, and three of the five nominees come from there. The long diagonal check mark before the name may have been added by the same hand as the check marks before the names of the nominees (17, 19, 21, 23, 26).

3–4 On village *πρεσβύτεροι* see A. Tomsin, *Étude sur les πρεσβύτεροι* (Bruxelles, 1953), esp. 73–5 on the *πρεσβύτεροι* as acting—*κωμογραμματεῖς*.

5–6 *μέρους τοπαρχίας*. Cf. 4064 4–5.

6 It is not clear if we are to think of a toparchy of the Tetrakomia divided into two parts (upper and lower), or of an entire toparchy known as the Upper Tetrakomia and another known as the Lower Tetrakomia. Similar *ἄνω/κάτω* divisions occur widely in the Hermopolite nome, and are interpreted as separate toparchies: M. Drew-Bear, *Le nome Hermopolite* 45–9, 375–6.

7–12 *αἰτούμενοι ... δίδωμεν*. This formula recurs in 4064 6 ff. and in 4067 8 ff. It seems that the writer at first intended to abbreviate, thus *αἰτούμ(ενοι)*; *μ* appears to be followed by an abbreviation stroke over which a heavy *ε* was then written.

8 *πυργοφυλάκων*. There were (note 8–9 n.) at least four per tower; cf. W. Clarysse and P. J. Sijpesteijn, *Anc. Soc.* 19 (1988) 84–6 for a group of four persons performing alternating guard duties. *πυργοφύλακες* had previously appeared only in two documents of the Byzantine period, P. Flor. III 297.469 and P. Cairo Masp. I 67054 i 4 (cf. 67058 iii 2?) with the note to the latter ‘le *πυργοφύλαξ*, gardien de tours (à la limite du desert), serait un agent de police analogue au *μαγδωλοφύλαξ* du Fayûm’. We may now compare the *σκοπελάριοι* (R. S. Bagnall, *The Florida Ostraka* (Durham, 1976) pp. 25–6) and also *σκοπελοφυλακ* [ in O. Barns 1 (R. A. Coles, *ZPE* 39 (1980) 127). Bibliography to these Florida and associated ostraka is usefully gathered in the article by Clarysse and Sijpesteijn cited above, *Anc. Soc.* 19 (1988) 71 ff., and Clarysse, *Atti Napoli* III 1021–6, where the geographical setting of the group is also discussed but see now H. Cuvigny, *Proc. XX Congr.* (forthcoming). A *σκοπελάριος* is attested by a third century ostrakon from the Suez area, SB VI 9549 no. 4.8–9.

8–9 *διμήνου Τύβι Μεχείρ*. This is a relatively short period of office. This might be routine, because of the inconvenient conditions of service; cf. Bagnall, *The Florida Ostraka* p. 26. Another short term may be indicated by O. Theb. 139 (list of *νυκτοφύλακες* for Thoth). The guards might have been in office for longer than the cited month, but N. Lewis in *Compulsory Public Services* 40 treats this as an example of shared then divided responsibility. In 4066, note that the period of office is almost immediate (the text is dated 24

December, the appointment to start 28 December). On last-minute nomination see Lewis *op. cit.* 66. The disparity in the number of nominees (4 for one tower, only 1 for another), and the fact that nominations are made for only two towers out of the system, may be noted; but other nominees for these and other towers could have been supplied from other villages.

15 *κατὰ συνήθειαν*. Cf. 25 n. *ad fin.*

16 *πρώτον πύργον*. There were at least eight towers, cf. 25. See the introd. above on the system of numbered towers on the Cairo–Suez desert route.

17–18 *Πιεσιῆς* is attested elsewhere in the forms *Πεσιῆς/Πιεσιῆς/Φεσιῆς*. *Φιεβῶς* is not attested elsewhere; apart from an uncertain *Φειβῶς* (BGU III 455.16), the papyri supply the form *Πεβῶς*. More usual forms of *Θαβεῖς* are *Θαβῆς*, *Ταβῆς*, *Ταβεῖς*.

18 *ἀπὸ Τακαπέρθεως*. The village is not known from elsewhere.

19 *Νιςθερωοῦς*. Cf. P. Bub. I pp. 42–3.

*Θαβελλήους*. *Θαβελλῆς* appears to be unattested from elsewhere. Perhaps cf. the genitives *Ταβέλλεως* (PSI XIV 1409.4) and *Ταβελλείο(ς)* (BGU IX 1891.239).

20 *Ψώφθεως*. The common place name *Ψῶβθις* = Arabic *Saft* derives from an Egyptian word meaning ‘a (large) wall’, which was also applied to the embankments of fortifications or to the forts themselves. See J. Yoyotte, *Rev. d’Ég.* 15 (1963) 106–114.

25 *κατὰ Cκηνάς ὄντα ἡ πύργον*. At present we may only guess at the location of these *Cκηναί*, indicating an encampment. The well known *Scenae Veteranorum* (*Itin. Anton.* 163.1, 169.4; A. Calderini–S. Daris, *Diz. geogr.* IV 290–1) should not enter into consideration, lying outside the likely territory of the Arabian nome. Of the other *Cκηναί* listed by Calderini–Daris, *Cκηναί Μικραί* and *Cκηναί Μεγάλαι* remain possibilities. Note that the same text that attests them (R. O. Fink, *RMR* no. 76) shows soldiers being sent to Clysma (Suez), see col. xviii 4, 16. A minor encampment to serve the personnel on guard at these *πύργοι* is also a possibility, but the location of the towers remains quite uncertain, see the introd. above.

Grammatically, another approach is very attractive but far from clear in its topographical implications. The phrasing in 15–16 and 25 has the same form, *τὸν κατὰ x ὄντα* (ordinal) *πύργον*, and should therefore be understood in the same way. We would then have ‘tower 1 in the usual numbering’ (15–16) and (25) ‘tower 8 in the Scenae numbering’ or even ‘tower 8 counting by encampments’ (printing *Cκηνάς* in place of *Cκηνάς*). ‘Tower 8 in the Scenae numbering’ might refer to a system of numbering the towers which began at the other end of the route, in contrast to local usage for the nearer towers, which might mean that the Scenae of the text need not have to be located within the Arabian nome.

26 *Πεπεθύμιος*. This is the first post-Ptolemaic example of this name.

33 *βοηθοί* also act in 4064 28 and 4065 16.

PAOLA PRUNETI

#### 4067. SUBSTITUTE NOMINATION TO A LITURGY

46 5B.51/G(6–7)a

9.5 × 33.5 cm

16 January 184

This almost complete papyrus contains a nomination to a liturgy, submitted to the strategus of the Arabian nome (through the royal scribe, acting strategus) by the comogrammateus of Heroopolis (see the introd. to 4063–7 above) and Thaubasthis (8 n.). Liturgic service had been requested for the supervision of *δημοσία καὶ οὐσιακή γῆ* in the vicinity of a village of now uncertain name. This particular liturgy is not listed by N. Lewis, *Compulsory Public Services* 29–31 s.v. *ἐπιτήρησις*, but see 10–11 n. The substitute nomination was necessitated by the flight of the previous nominee. The papyrus does not indicate the starting date or the duration of the liturgy. If we may suppose that Thoth 1 and one year are likely, then probably the previous nominee



fled while in office (the substitute nomination is dated in Tybi) after completing at most one third of the task.

There is a kollesis down the left edge, from the original manufacture of the roll. The back is blank.

- Ἀμμωνίῳ στρ(ατηγῶ) Ἀραβ(ίας)  
 διὰ Σαραπίωνος τοῦ καὶ  
 Σαραπάμμωνος βασιλ(ικοῦ) γρ(αμματέως)  
 διαδεχομένο(ν) καὶ τὰ κα—  
 5 τὰ τὴν στρ(ατηγίαν) τοῦ α(ὐτοῦ) νομοῦ  
 παρὰ Σαραπίωνος κω—  
 μογρ(αμματέως) Ἑρώ(ω)ν πόλεως  
 καὶ Θαυβάσθ(εως). αἰτούμε—  
 νος ὑπὸ σοῦ ὄνομα εἰς  
 10 ἐπιτήρης(ιν) δημοσίας  
 καὶ οὐσιακ(ῆς) γῆς περὶ κώ—  
 μην . . . τὰριω ἀντὶ Φα—  
 βάλου μητρ(ρός) Τκολλαύθιο(ς)  
 ἀπὸ Ἑρώ(ω)ν πόλ(εως) καταγίνο(μένου)  
 15 ἐν Καινῇ δηλωθέντ(ος)  
 ἀνακεχω(ρηκέσαι), δίδωμι τὸν  
 ὑπογεγρ(αμμένον) ὄντα εὖπορον  
 καὶ ἐπιτήδειον τῷ  
 ἐμῷ κινδύνῳ. ἔστι δέ·  
 20 /Ἀνθάκις Φιμήνιος  
 μητρὸς Ταφιώμιος  
 ἀπὸ Θαυβάσθεως (ἐτῶν) λε,  
 ἔχω(ν) πό(ρον) οἶκο(πέδων) (δραχμῶν) ω.  
 (ἔτους) κδ Αὐτοκράτορος  
 25 Καίσαρος Μάρκου Αὐρηλίου  
 Κομμόδου Ἀντωνίνου  
 Σεβαστοῦ Ἀρμενιακοῦ  
 Μηδικοῦ Παρθικοῦ  
 Σαρματικοῦ Γερμανικοῦ  
 30 Μεγίστου, Τῦβι κ̅.  
 (m. 2) [Σαραπίων κωμο]γρ(αμματεὺς) ἐπιδέδωκε[α.]



1  $\epsilon\tau\rho\varsigma\alpha\rho\alpha^B$  3  $\beta\alpha\varsigma\iota^{\lambda}\gamma\rho^{\angle}$  4  $\delta\iota\alpha\delta\epsilon\chi\omicron\mu\epsilon\nu^O$  5  $\epsilon\tau\rho\varsigma, \bar{\alpha}$  6–7  $\kappa\omega\mu\omicron\gamma\rho\varsigma$  8  $\theta\alpha\upsilon\beta\alpha\varsigma^{\theta}$   
 10  $\epsilon\pi\iota\tau\eta\rho\eta\varsigma^{-}$  11  $\omicron\upsilon\varsigma\iota\alpha^K$  13  $\mu\eta^{\tau}\tau\kappa\omicron\lambda\lambda\alpha\upsilon\theta\iota^O$  14  $\pi\omicron^{\lambda}\kappa\alpha\tau\alpha\gamma\iota\nu\omicron^{-}$  15  $\delta\eta\lambda\omega\theta\epsilon\nu^{\tau}$   
 16  $\alpha\nu\alpha\kappa\epsilon\chi^{\omega}$  17  $\upsilon\pi\omicron\gamma\epsilon\gamma\rho\varsigma$  22  $\angle$  23  $\epsilon\chi^{\omega}\zeta\omicron\iota\kappa\omicron$ ; ( $\delta\rho\alpha\chi\mu\omega\upsilon\nu$ ): minimal traces only 24  $\angle$   
 31  $[\kappa\omega\mu\omicron]\gamma\rho\varsigma$

‘To Ammonius, strategus of Arabia, through Sarapion alias Sarapammon royal scribe and acting strategus of the same nome, from Sarapion comogrammateus of Heroopolis and Thaubasthis. Asked by you to name someone for the supervision of state and usiac land near the village of ..., in place of Phabalus whose mother is Tkollauthis, from Heroopolis, resident in Caene, declared as having fled, at my own risk I nominate the person whose name is written below, who is of adequate means and suitable. As follows:

‘Anthakis son of Phimenis, his mother being Taphiomis, from Thaubasthis, aged 35, having building property worth 800 drachmas.

‘The 24th year of Emperor Caesar Marcus Aurelius Commodus Antoninus Augustus Armeniacus Medicus Parthicus Sarmaticus Germanicus Maximus, the 20th of Tybi.’

(2nd hand) ‘I, Sarapion, comogrammateus, presented this.’

1–5 **4066**, of three weeks earlier, is addressed to Ammonius without any intermediary.

7  $\text{Ἡρώ}\langle\omega\rangle\nu\ \pi\acute{o}\lambda\epsilon\omega\varsigma$ . For the location of Heroopolis and the topographical significance of this text, see the general introduction above to **4063–7**.

8 Thaubasthis is associated with Heroopolis (see the introd. above to **4063–7**) in a single  $\kappa\omega\mu\omicron\gamma\rho\alpha\mu\mu\alpha\text{-}\tau\epsilon\acute{\iota}\alpha$ . This Thaubasthis is probably to be identified with the locality already known from the *Not. Dign.* (or. xxviii 38: Thaubasteos), the *Itin. Ant.* (171.1: Thaubasium), and R. O. Fink, *RMR* 70 c 8 (Thaub( )). See A. Calderini–S. Daris, *Diz. geogr.* II 239. We would then have here the first attestation of the place written in Greek. According to the *Itin. Ant.* the village lay eight miles from Serapeum, on the route linking Serapeum with Pelusium. Cf. *Déscr. de l’Égypte* XI (État moderne) 120–1, 309. Serapeum (perhaps to be identified with Gebel Maryam, to the west of Lake Timsah: cf. J. Lesquier, *L’armée romaine* 400 n. 9) for its part lay near the fork in the route which, coming from Tohu (**4065** 8 n.) and passing Heroopolis, split to lead northwards to Pelusium and south by the Bitter Lakes to Clysmā (*Itin. Ant.* 170–1). On the stages and distances on the routes in this region, note K. A. Worp, *ZPE* 87 (1991) 292–4; cf. in general Lesquier *op. cit.* 399–401. If all this is correct, the comogrammateia of Heroopolis and Thaubasthis covered an area probably more than 20 km across in a straight line.

10–11 An  $\epsilon\pi\iota\tau\eta\rho\eta\tau\eta\varsigma\ \omicron\upsilon\varsigma\iota\alpha\kappa\omega\upsilon\nu\ \kappa\tau\eta\mu\acute{\alpha}\tau\omega\nu$  is known in the second century. See H. C. Kuhnke, *Οὐσιακὴ γῆ. Domänenland in den Papyri der Prinzipatszeit* (Diss. Köln 1971) 75–7, and G. M. Parássoglou, *Imperial Estates in Roman Egypt* 46.

12–13  $\Phi\alpha\beta\acute{\alpha}\lambda\omicron\upsilon$ . A  $\Phi\alpha\beta\acute{\alpha}\lambda\iota\varsigma$  (so *NB*) is attested in P. Grenf. I 39 (Thebaid, second–first century BC).

13 The name  $\tau\kappa\omicron\lambda\lambda\alpha\upsilon\theta\iota\varsigma$  is attested in P. Mich. IV 223 (Karanis, 171–2).

15  $\epsilon\nu\ \text{Καινῇ}$ . XI **1380** 31 is the only other attestation of a locality with this name probably in Lower Egypt: cf. Calderini–Daris, *Diz. geogr.* III 48 item 2. The other more distant locations are excluded by the resident’s (abandoned) performance of a liturgy in the Arabian nome.

20  $\text{Ἀνθάκις}$ . The name  $\text{Ἀντάκις}$  is attested in SB I 5124.346 (Tebtunis, 192) and P. Giss. Univ. 49 (Tebtunis, 221).

LUCIA PAPINI

## 4068. IMPERIAL RESCRIPTS

A 4B5A/6

15.2 × 16 cm

March–April 200

Several badly worm-eaten fragments combine to give three collected rescripts of Severus and Caracalla concerned with the same topic. A person who has attained the age of seventy shall now be exempt from those *munera civilia* (πολιτικάις λειτουργίαις, 6–7) that are not *munera patrimonialia* (ὅσαι μὴ μόναις οὐσίαις ἐπιτάσσονται, 7–8), i.e. from *munera corporalia*. The distinction has long been known: C. Just. 10.42.5, and N. Lewis, *Compulsory Public Services* (= *Pap. Flor.* XI), 94–5, 159 n. 1 and 165. P. Flor. III 382.13–16, also a rescript of Severus and Caracalla, will have been a close parallel to ours, with particular resemblances to the first of our three: see 6–8 n.

No precise date survives. The month is given in 21 (for the rescript in 17–20 only?) as Pharmouthi = March/April. The much-damaged year, if that is what it is, will presumably be 199/200, as so often elsewhere in surviving rescripts of these emperors, cf. W. Williams, *JRS* 64 (1974) 88–90 and *ZPE* 22 (1976) 241. For bibliography on texts of this type see LI 3611 introd.

The papyrus is written across the fibres in a rough semi-cursive hand. There is sufficient blank margin at the foot to indicate that the complete collection comprised just these three rescripts on the sheet. The back is blank. Comparison of surface textures suggests that the rescripts have been written *transversa charta*, and there may have been a kollesis at the very foot.

Much of the preliminary work on this text was done by Mrs. M. Coles.

[Αὐτοκρά]τωρ Καῖσαρ Λούκιος Σεπτίμιος Σεουήρος  
 [Εὐσεβὴ]ς Περτίναξ Ἀραβικὸς Ἀδιαβηνικὸς  
 [Παρθικὸ]ς Μέγιστος καὶ Αὐ[τ]οκράτωρ  
 [Καῖσαρ] Μάρκος Αὐρήλιος Ἀντωνῖνος Εὐσεβῆς  
 5 [C]εβ[ac]τὸς Ἐαραπίωνι Ἐαραπίωνος. τοὺς  
 ἑβδομήκοντα ἔτη βεβιωκότας ἐν ταῖς πο-  
 λιτικάις λειτουργίαις, ὅσαι μὴ [μ]όναις οὐσίαις  
 ἐπιτάσσονται, παρετήσεως τυγχάνει<ν>  
 συνχωροῦσι οἱ νόμοι. καὶ cὺ τοίνυν εἰ ταύτην γέγο-  
 10 [να]ς τ[ῆ]ν ἡλι[κ]ίαν κα[ὶ] πρᾶγμα βιαστεῖς διὰ μό-  
 νων . . . της πραγμάτων, ἔξεις τὴν προνομίαν  
 τῶν γε[γ]ηρακότων. ἄλλο τῶν αὐτῶν.  
 Θ. [. . .]! Ἀμμωνίου. εἰ ἐβ[δομήκο]ντ[α] ἔτη βίου  
 [ c. 9 ] . . . . . [ . ?ὑπερβέ]βηκας παρε[τ]ή-  
 15 [σεως? c. 22 ]ς ἐπιτάσσον-

τα[ι.] ἄλλο [τῶν αὐτῶν.]  
 Ἀρμιύκι Πιχύσεως. εἰ ἐ[βδ]ομήκοντα ἑτῶν  
 ἀριθμὸν παρέβραμε[ς] π[ο]λ[ι]τ[ικ]α[ί]ς οὐχ ὑποβλη  
 θήσι λειτουργίαις . . . ταῖς οὐσίαις ἐπιτάσσον—

20

ται.

[προετέθη ἐν Ἀλε]ξανδ[ρεία] ἡ (ἔτους) Φαρμούθι.

8 l. παρατήσεως; so in 14

10 l. βιασθεῖς?

18 l. παρέδραμες

18–19 l. ὑποβληθήσει

21 §?

‘Imperator Caesar Lucius Septimius Severus Pius Pertinax Arabicus Adiabenicus Parthicus Maximus and Imperator Caesar Marcus Aurelius Antoninus Pius Augustus to Sarapion son of Sarapion. The laws allow those who have lived for seventy years to obtain exemption in respect of municipal liturgies, excepting those that are only a charge on one’s property. You too, therefore, if you have reached this age and . . ., will have the privilege of the old. Another of the same (emperors):

‘To Th- son of Ammonius. If . . . Another of the same (emperors):

‘To Harmiysis son of Pichysis. If you have exceeded the number of seventy years, you will not be subjected to municipal liturgies, excepting those that are only a charge on one’s property.

‘Published at Alexandria, the 8th year, Pharmouthi.’

6–8 Cf. P. Flor. III 382.13–14, ἐν ταῖς πολιτικαῖς λειτουργίαις ὄσαι [μὴ (?) . . .] καὶ πρὸς μόνας τὰ[ς] οὐσίας διαφέρουσι.

10–11 κα[ί] . . . πραγμάτων. We can make no sense of this section.

11 προνομίαν. Cf. P. Flor. III 382.14.

14–15 The surviving wording and available intervening spaces here are sufficiently different from the other two rescripts to prevent secure restoration.

19 Fibre-patterns allow the precise placing of the fragments in the middle of this line, despite the damage. There has clearly been some mis-copying. The three blank dots could be read as οσα, and the simplest solution is to suppose an omission ὄσα<ι μὴ μόναις> ταῖς κτλ., comparing 7–8. The rescript as copied comes close to granting precisely the opposite of what we know to be the case, cf. the introd. above; if this collection of rescripts was made for use as supporting evidence, it is interesting to speculate on its legal status!

21 Φαρμούθι. Cf. XLII 3018 5 n. Transcription of ἡ (ἔτους) preceding is conjectural since only two slight ink traces survive.

REVEL COLES

## 4069. OFFICIAL CORRESPONDENCE

A 13/8 E

8.8 × 10.3 cm

Early third century

This scrap is of prosopographical interest, furnishing us with two new strategi, see 2–3 n. No date is preserved (apart from the month-and-day notation of receipt, line 1), but an approximate date may be deducible from the mention of Junius Punicus (if the cognomen is rightly read and restored), possibly here *procurator Neaspoleos*; he

was not known in this office, but—if it is the same person—had been *procurator provinciae Thraciae* and then *procurator ad Mercurium* in Egypt before the end of 201, see H.-G. Pflaum, *Les carrières proc. équestres* II pp. 653–4. The wording of the four Tripolitanian inscriptions cited by Pflaum should imply that Punicus' tenure of the post of *procurator Neaspoleos* postdated these appointments. Given the uncertain dates, and the thin ranks of known holders, there are no problems over accommodating Punicus in the list. For the *procurator ad Mercurium*, besides Pflaum, *op. cit.*, III 1089, see his *Suppl.* (1982) 140, and XXXI 2567 9 n. and P. Coll. Youtie I 32 = XLVII 3363. For the *procurator Neaspoleos* see Pflaum, *Suppl.* 140–1, which supersedes his earlier list.

Written along the fibres in a good-sized rounded cursive. The address is on the back, along the fibres, in a backward-sloping and presumably different hand.

(m. 3) ἐλ(ήμφθη?) Θὼθ 15.

(m. 1) Ὡτῆρ στρ(ατηγὸς) Σεβ(εννύτου) κάτω τό(πων)  
Θέωνι στρ(ατηγῶ) Διοπολ(είτου) κάτω χώ(ρας)  
τῶι φιλτάτῳ χαίρειν.

3 ἐπιστολὴν γραφεῖσαν ἡμεῖν  
τε καὶ στρ(ατηγοῖς) ἐτέρων νομῶ[ν]  
ὑπὸ Ἰουνίου Πρύ[νικου(?) ἐπι-]  
τρόπου Νέ[ας πόλεως? 0–3 ]  
διαπομπ[ 8–11 ]  
10 μονων κ[ 8–11 ]  
. [ 14–17 ]  
... [

(Back, m. 2) Θέωνι στρατηγῶι Διοπ[

1 εἰλ 2 στρςεβ', το) 3 στρςδιοπολ, χω 6 στρς

(3rd hand) 'Received(?) Thoth 15.'

(1st hand) 'Soter, strategus of the lower portions of the Sebennyte nome, to Theon, strategus of the Diopolite nome in the Delta, his dearest colleague, greetings.

'The letter written to us and to strategi of other nomes by Junius Punicus(?), *procurator Neaspoleos*(?), ...'

(Address, 2nd hand) 'To Theon, strategus of the Diopolite nome ...'

1 Thoth 15 = 12/13 September.

2–3 Both strategi are to be added to the lists of G. Bastianini and J. Whitehorne, *Strategi and Royal Scribes of Roman Egypt* (*Pap. Flor.* XV). For Sebennyte strategi cf. 4073 below. For the division of the



Sebennyte nome see H. Gauthier, *Les nomes d'Égypte* 172–3; A. el-Khafif and A. Geissen, *ZPE* 49 (1982) 242. For this Diopolite nome, also in the Delta, see Gauthier, *op. cit.* 165–8 with A. Calderini, *Diz. Geogr.* II 113. This is the original letter, not a copy, as the different hands indicate; if Theon were an Oxyrhynchite, this would explain the letter's discovery there.

8-9 ἀπὸ] <sup>9</sup>διαπομπ[ῆς, 'by transmission from'? Cf. P. Panop. Beatty 2.27 and freq. It is not easy to see how the wording might have continued here. On the other hand διὰ Πομπ[ηίου *vel sim.* would introduce an unwanted intermediate agent.

REVEL COLES

#### 4070. OFFER TO CONTRACT FOR WORK ON TRAJAN'S CANAL

22 3B.16/B(3-4)a

8 × 15.5 cm

c. 208

Two Lycopolite ποταμίται offer to take on the cleaning of a section of Trajan's canal near Phacusae the metropolis of the Arabian nome. For the topography and bibliography of the Arabian nome see the general introd. to **4063–7** above. For the relationship of the canal to Phacusae see 8 n. The addressee is Sarapion alias Phantias, *strategus Arabiae*. This confirms the re-reading of Sarapion's area of authority in IX **1197** 2 as Ἀραβίας, put forward by R. A. Coles and P. J. Sijpesteijn, *CE* 61 1986 108–110, while the Oxyrhynchite provenance of the present text strengthens the likelihood of Sarapion's being an Oxyrhynchite, *ibid.* 109. **1197** was tentatively re-dated in that article to 4–12 August 208. The new text preserves no date. The only other known strategus of this area is Ammonius in 183/4, see **4063–7** above, while **4067** also attests a Sarapion alias Sarapammon as acting strategus concurrently with Ammonius early in 184.

The back is blank.

Cαραπίωνι τῷ καὶ Φανίᾳ στρ(ατηγῷ) Ἀραβίας  
 [πα]ρὰ . λατος Κολλούθου καὶ Εὐδαίμο-  
 νος Μελε[. . .]. τῶν β<sup>+</sup> ἀπὸ Λύκων  
 πόλεως τ[οῦ] Λυκ[ο]πολ[ε]ίτου νομοῦ  
 5 ποταμειτῶν τὴν ἐργασίαν. βουλό-  
 μεθα ἐκλαβεῖν ἔργα ἀναψησμοῦ  
 διώρυχος καλουμένης Τραία  
 νῆ[ς οὗ]ρης περὶ Φ[ακ]ο[ύς]α[ς] τὴν μη-  
 τρόπολι[ν] c. 4 ἐρ[γάζονται] διὰ π[ο-]  
 10 ταμειτῶ[ν] c. 13 ] . . [ ὕ ]  
 πικχυοῦμ[ ] c. 17 ]  
 ἐκ δραχμ[ῶν] c. 16 ]  
 παλαι . . [ ] c. 18 ]



ταυτη. [ c. 19 ]  
 15 με . ι . [ c. 20 ]

1 στρς 4 l. Λυκοπολίτου 5 l. ποταμιτών 9-10 l. ποταμιτών 15 First letter γ?

'To Sarapion alias Phantias, strategus of Arabia, from ... son of Colluthus and Eudaemon son of Mele ... , both from Lycopolis in the Lycopolite nome, river maintenance men by trade. We wish to contract for the works of cleaning the canal called Traiana situated near Phacusae the metropolis ...'

1 For Sarapion alias Phantias see the introd. above.

2 The first name is puzzling. For λατος, λαίτος might be read; it is not clear if a low trace attaches to an ι here or to the letter after Μελε in the line below. Easiest to read would be *Ἡρακλάτος*, but then there is no space for παρά (room for one letter only). The end of the first line is clear and complete. Possibly 2 began π(αρά)?

3-4 Like others who earned a living working on the river, the ποταμίται (5) were obviously itinerant: cf. XLIX 3469 7 n.

5 ποταμειτών. See CE 25 (1950) 96; Aeg. 48 (1968) 109; D. Bonneau, *Proc. XII Int. Congr. Pap.* (= ASP VII (1970)) 52-3; CPR VI 10; LV 3804 213, 221, 223; P. J. Sijpesteijn, *JJP* 20 (1990) 138. Our two men here are obviously contractors more than plain labourers.

7-8 For Trajan's canal see P. J. Sijpesteijn, *Aeg.* 43 (1963) 70-83; P. Wash. Univ. I 7; LV 3814 13-15 n.; A. B. Lloyd, *Herodotus Book II* (1988) 149-158; R. E. Zitterkopf and S. E. Sidebotham, *JEA* 75 (1989) 156<sup>8</sup>; S. E. Sidebotham in *The Eastern Frontier of the Roman Empire* ed. D. H. French and C. S. Lightfoot (BAR Int. Series 553 ii, 1989), 487-8. Cf. the following note, and the general introd. to 4063-7 above.

8 For Phacusae, metropolis of the Arabian nome, cf. Coles and Sijpesteijn, *CE* 61 (1986) 108-9, and the general introd. to 4063-7 above. Modern Fāqūs lies well to the north of the main course of Trajan's canal from Babylon through the Wadi Tumilat. It would seem that the canal system, as well as bending eastwards to pass through the Wadi Tumilat, continued north-eastwards (from a junction near the western end of the Wadi) so as to pass much closer to Phacusae, and that this north-eastern section was also known as forming part of Trajan's canal. This will also tally with the earlier witness of Strabo, who informs us (XVII 26) that ἡ δὲ ἀρχὴ τῆς διώρυγος τῆς ἐκδιδούσης εἰς τὴν Ἐρυθρὰν ἀπὸ κώμης ἀρχεῖται Φακούσης. Cf. *RE* 19.1611.

12 A reference to the piecework pay rate proposed for the contract?

REVEL COLES

#### 4071. PETITION TO AN ACTING EPISTRATEGUS

101/135(b)

7.8 × 6.5 cm

241-4?

This fragment from the top of a petition, in a handsome formal documentary hand, is of prosopographical interest: the addressee is Aurelius Hermanubis, no doubt the same man as the presiding official in the legal proceedings at Antinoopolis M. *Chr.* 93. His position there was not stated. Here he is *vir egregius*, διέπων τὴν ἐπιστρατηγίαν (of the Heptanomia, since the petitioner comes from the Small Oasis). His date and hence where he is to be placed in the list of J. D. Thomas, *The Roman Epistrategos*

191, are conjectural. *M. Chr.* 93 refers back to a date 23 April 241 when Claudius Cleogenes was epistrategus. It is a possibility, but little more than that, that Hermanubis was acting epistrategus in the interval between Cleogenes and the next known epistrategus Antonius Alexander, thus 241-4.

There is a kollesis through τ of τῶ in 1. The back is blank.

[A]ὐρηλίῳ Ἑρμανούβιδι τῶ κρατ[ίστω διέποντι]  
 τήν [ἐ]πιστρατηγίαν  
 [πα]ρὰ Αὐρηλίας Ἡλιοδώρας Παράμμ[ωνος c. 8 ]  
 [. . .] ἀπὸ τῆς Μεικ[ράς] Ὀάσεως, βίαν πάσχ[ουσα c. 7 ]  
 5 [c. 2 γ]υνὴ χήρα κ[αὶ πρ]εβύτις ὑπὸ Ἀμμο[ c. 10 ]  
 [ c. 13 τ]ῆς αὐτῆς Μεικ[ράς] Ὀάσεως c. 5 ]  
 [ c. 18 ] . . . . . [

4, 6 l. μικρὰς

'To Aurelius Hermanubis, *vir egregius*, administering the office of epistrategus, from Aurelia Heliodora daughter of Parammon ... from the Small Oasis. Suffering violence ... an old and widowed woman ... at the hands of Ammo ... from the same Small Oasis ...'

REVEL COLES

#### 4072. DECLARATION BY AN ἐπιμελητῆς κριθῆς

101/193(c)

10.5 × 12.5 cm

c. 283/4

This declaration to an acting strategus by a councillor holding the post of supervisor of barley is principally of interest for the name of the addressee, Julius Dubitatus Scylacius. Unfortunately the damage in line 2 has deprived us of the nome of which he was acting strategus. It is hardly conceivable that he should be a different person from Julius Juppatus Scylacius, strategus of the upper Sebennyte in 4073 below. If the identity is accepted, one version of his name must be false; since Dubitatus is attested (I. Kajanto, *The Latin Cognomina* 351), the balance may be slightly in its favour, but a corruption Ἰουππετᾶτος : Δουπιτᾶτος could occur either way. Since, however, Scylacius is not strategus here but acting strategus, 4072 should represent another stage in his career; that is to say, the nome lost at the end of 2 should not be the upper Sebennyte. No strategus (or acting strategus) is known for the Oxyrhynchite at this date (G. Bastianini-J. Whitehorne, *Strategi and Royal Scribes* 102), but perhaps another nome altogether is to be expected. The presence of the Sebennyte document

in Oxyrhynchus might be explained if Scylacius had private interests in Oxyrhynchus and took with him there documents connected with his official postings elsewhere, a practice conjectured in other similar instances. I can see no way of determining whether **4073** should be earlier or later than **4072**.

A heavy (four layer?) kollesis runs down the front, 2.5 cm from the right edge. On the back, the same way up, are parts of two columns of accounts; the sum of 17 tal. 5224 dr. occurs twice, and there are mentions of Alexandria (twice) and ὁψωνίου. This account may belong to the early fourth century and was probably written in Oxyrhynchus once the papyrus had been discarded as scrap.

Ἰουλίῳ Δουπιτάτῳ Κυλακίῳ [γενομένῳ ὑπομνη—]  
 ματογράφῳ διοικοῦντι τ[ὴν στρ(ατηγίαν) c. 9 ]  
 Αὐρήλιος [. ]ίττος ὁ καὶ Ἡρα[— c. 8 καὶ ὡς χρη—]  
 ματίζῳ βουλευτῆς τῆς λα[μπρᾶς c. 9 πό—]  
 5 λεως ἐπιμελητῆς κριθ[ῆς ἀποστελλομένης]  
 ἐν Ἀλεξανδρείᾳ. (vac.) ὁμνύ[ω τὴν θείαν τύχην]  
 τῶν κυρίων ἡ[μ]ῶν Μάρκῳ[ν Αὐρηλίων Καρίνου]  
 καὶ Νουμεριανοῦ Αὐτοκρατ[όρων αὐτόθι παρει—]  
 ληφένε καὶ ἐμβεβλήσθαι[ι εἰς πλοῖον πολύκω—?]  
 10 πον τοῦδε τοῦ νομο[ῦ ἀγωγῆς ἀρταβῶν c. 5 ]  
 κοσίων οὗ κυβερνήτ[ης c. 21 ]  
 [. ]...ε...υ ε...ενης κ[ c. 21 ]  
 [ c. 11 ]...[ c. 24 ]

3 τ'τος

8-9 1. παρειληφέναι

9. 1. ἐμβεβλήσθαι

'To Julius Dubitatus Scylacius, ex-hypomnematosgraphus, acting strategus of the ... (nome): Aurelius -ittus also called Hera-, and however I am styled, councillor of the glorious city of the ..., supervisor of barley being dispatched to Alexandria.

'I swear by the divine fortune of our lords Marci Aurelii Carinus and Numerianus Imperatores that I have forthwith taken charge of and loaded on board a multi-oared ship(?) belonging to this nome, of ... hundred artabas burden, its pilot being ...'

1 Δουπιτάτῳ. Presumably a rendering of *Dubitatus*, but see the introd. above. For the name Scylacius see **4073** 1 n.

3 [. ]ίττος. A number of possibilities, cf. F. Dornseiff-B. Hansen, *Rück. Wörterb.* 293.

5-6 Cf. P. NYU 11a.202-3.

7-8 For the chronology of Carinus and Numerianus see D. W. Rathbone, *ZPE* 62 (1986) 127-9; D. Kienast, *Römische Kaisertabelle* (1990) 256-7.

- 9-10 *πολύκωπον*? For this type of vessel, which would here be state-owned, see M. Merzagora, *Aeg.* 10 (1929) 117; E. Wipszycka, *CE* 35 (1960) 219; L. Casson, *Ships and Seamanship* 334.  
 12 A stain of ink visible beyond  $\kappa$  is on the vertical fibres and may only be the result of seepage.

REVEL COLES

## 4073. OFFICIAL CORRESPONDENCE

70/10(a)

10.8 × 6.5 cm

Late third century

Fragment from the top of a letter to the strategus of the upper Sebennyte nome from a councillor, seemingly concerned with the appointment of *ἐπιμεληταί*. No date survives but the script and the fact that the strategus is an ex-hypomnematographus (see 2 n.) suggest the late third century.

The main interest of the text is in the areas of prosopography and onomastics. Very few strategi of the Sebennyte (upper, lower or undivided) are known; this one is new, and bears the extraordinary name of Julius Juppetatus Scylacius. See further 1 n. and cf. 4072. His correspondent bears the equally strange name Aurelius *Κηοτίων*, see 3 n.

Ἰουλίωι Ἰουππετάτῳ Κυλακίῳ  
 γενομένῳ ὑπομ(νηματογράφῳ) στρ(ατηγῳ) Σεβ(εννύτου) ἄνω  
 [Αὐ]ρήλιος Κηοτίων Ἑρμείνου βουλ. [...]  
 [3-4] . της τῷ φιλτάτῳ χαίρειν.  
 5 [ c. 6 ] ὑτου ἐτύγχαναν αἰρεθ[ν-]  
 [τεσ? c. 8 ] ἐπιμεληταὶ δύο κα[  
 [ c. 11 ] . ραιτωδ[  
 [ c. 10 ] ἐπιμελη[

2 υπομστρςεβ'

5 ετυγ'χαναν

'To Julius Juppetatus Scylacius, former hypomnematographus, strategus of the upper Sebennyte nome: Aurelius Ceotion son of Herminus, councillor ..., to his dearest colleague, greetings.

'A year ago(?) there were appointed ... two supervisors ...'

1 The name *Κυλάκιος* recurs in 4072 and finds an entry in the *NB* (XIV 1626 6) and in Pape-Benseler, and (as Scylacius) two entries in *PLRE* I 811 (vicar of Asia in 343, then *proconsul Achaiae*; the other a law-teacher in Berytus c. 363, perhaps with a son (active 391) of the same name); a Scyllacius (also Squillacius: this form entered in I. Kajanto, *The Latin Cognomina* 333) is attested for 411, see *Prosop. chrét. du Bas-Empire* I 1045. For Juppetatus I have found no other attestations, but the Scylacius in 4072 is given the name Dubitatus.



2 γενομένῳ intended; the rapid cursive loops are one short.

The employment of ex-hypomnematographi as strategi is a phenomenon particularly marked in the last two decades of the third century. For the hypomnematographus see J. E. G. Whitehorne, *Aeg.* 67 (1987) 101–125.

For the division of the Sebennyte nome see H. Gauthier, *Les nomes d'Égypte* 172–3; A. el-Khafif and A. Geissen, *ZPE* 49 (1982) 242. Scylacius is to be added to the thin ranks of known Sebennyte strategi, listed by G. Bastianini and J. Whitehorne, *Strategi and Royal Scribes of Roman Egypt* (*Pap. Flor.* XV) 109. Cf. also 4069 above.

3 Κηοτίων. Despite the breaks and warping, I do not think the reading is in doubt. Κιῶτις is attested, and I suppose Κηο– may represent Κιω– but I have found no evidence for Κιωτίων.

βουλ. [. Very little should be lost. βουλς, i.e. βουλ(ευτής)? The final trace is unclear; perhaps βουλε[υ<sup>7</sup>] is more plausible.

4 [τῆς α]ῦτῆς? The gender switch would not be real (sc. πόλεως). For τῆς αὐτῆς πόλεως following mention of the nome, see LIV 3733 4, 3734 6–7 and elsewhere. However, I do not think ]υ will suit the traces. Possibly ἐπι–]<sup>4</sup>[μελ]ητής (cf. 6, and also 4072 5 above), although this requires a slightly longer line than I had supposed.

5 Possibly [πρὸ ἐνια]υτοῦ?

ἐτύχαναν. Second alpha seems palaeographically more likely than expected omicron. For this hybrid form cf. F. T. Gignac, *Grammar* II p. 332.

5–6 αἶρεθ[εντες. See N. Lewis, *Papyrologica Florentina* XI 57–8.

6 For ἐπιμεληταί see *ibid.* 27–8.

REVEL COLES

#### 4074. PETITION

101/39(a)

19.5 × 11.5 cm

307

This fragment from the top of a petition from a *femina clarissima* has suffered serious loss from the separation of the horizontal and vertical fibre layers. Nevertheless, it usefully extends the known tenure of office as Oxyrhynchite strategus of Aurelius Dioscurides alias Julianus, for whose career see P. Oxy. LIV Appendix I, pp. 223–5, and see 4 n. below. The petition concerns tax collecting and the *annona* (cf. A. K. Bowman, *BASP* 15 (1978) 35).

The edge of a kollesis falls approximately three letters from the line beginnings. The back is blank.

[ἐπὶ ὑπάτων τῶν κυρίων ἡμῶν] Αὐτοκράτορος Σεύηρου Σεβαστοῦ καὶ  
[Μα]ξ[ιμίνου τοῦ]

[ἐπιφανεστάτου Καίσαρος.] (vac.)

[ c. 7 ]. [ c. 4 ]. [ c. 11 ] . . . λαμπροτάτη δι' Αὐρηλίου  
Θεώνορος πρ. . [ up to c. 12 ]

Αὐρηλίῳ Διοσκουρίδῃ τῷ καὶ Ἰουλιανῷ στρατηγῷ  
Ὁξυρυγχίτου χαίρειν.]

5 μέλει σοι, στρατηγῶν ἄριστε, τῆς κυστάσεως τῆς φορολογείας καὶ τῶν  
εὐθηνια[κῶν εἰδῶν.]



Ἡρακλῆς τοῖνον Διονυσίου καὶ Κοπρεῦς καὶ  
 ...[...].[2-3].[...].[ up to c. 11 ]  
 [ c. 6 ].....γτες ἀπὸ ἐποικίου Πεκτὺ περιτ[ c. 26 ]  
 [ c. 31 ]..[ c. 26 ]  
 [ c. 30 ]...[ c. 26 ]  
 10 ..τα τυχόντα τε τῷ {τῷ} ἱερωτάτῳ ταμίῳ [ c. 27 ]  
 [...].[ c. 9 ] δευτέρῳ θε.[

4 ἰουλιανῶ

5 l. φορολογίας

10 ἱερωτατῶ; l. ταμείῳ

‘Under the consuls our lords Imperator Severus Augustus and Maximinus the most noble Caesar.

‘... , *clarissima* through Aurelius Theon ... to Aurelius Dioscurides alias Julianus, strategus of the Oxyrhynchite, greetings. You are concerned, best of strategi, with the organization of the tax collection and the categories of supplies. Heracles therefore, son of Dionysius, and Copreus and ... all from the farmstead of Pekty ...’

1 ἐπὶ ὑπάτων is restored on the basis of three of the four other surviving examples of this consulate in papyri (XLIV 3192, LIV 3729, P. Mil. 55), against P. Sak. 64 with ὑπατείας. The consulate of 307 is in fact the last for which the form ἐπὶ ὑπάτων is used in P. Oxy.

1-2 Line lengths in the document are nowhere certain, and the inset of 2 is conjectural only. The proposed lengths in 4-5 will admit the version of the consular formula as printed (or perhaps divide ἐπι/φανεστάτου), parallel with LIV 3729 and P. Mil. 55. Alternatively the formula could have continued Μαξιμίνου Καίσαρος τὸ α' (cf. P. Sak. 64). Month and day could have followed, instead of coming at the end of the document as the transcript supposes. For the consular formula see R. S. Bagnall and K. A. Worp, *Chronological Systems of Byzantine Egypt* 105 (P. Thead. 10 = P. Sak. 64; XLIV 3192 also omits τοῦ); R. S. Bagnall *et al.*, *Consuls of the Later Roman Empire* 149.

The beginning of 5 is perhaps abrupt, so that further wording may have followed χαίρειν at the end of 4, with consequent extension of the other lines. This is not of much importance; the choice of wording for the consular formula is likely to have been much the same, though the layout would be likely to be different.

3 The letters after Θέωνος are probably the remains of a title, perhaps προ[σητοῦ] or πραγ[ματευτοῦ].

4 Dioscurides was already known as strategus of the Oxyrhynchite c. 310-11, see P. Oxy. LIV p. 224. This new item should be entered there into the tabulated data for his career; it is both the earliest reference to him as strategus and the earliest certain dated reference to Dioscurides alias Julianus as distinct from his (conjectured) father Julianus alias Dioscurides. For strategi of the Oxyrhynchite in this period see also G. Bastianini-J. Whitehorne, *Strategi and Royal Scribes* (= *Pap. Flor.* XV) 104.

4-5 See 1-2 n.

5 στρατηγῶν ἄριστε. Cf. P. Cair. Isid. 65.3 (298/9), P. Wisc. I 32.7 (305) and P. Mert. II 91.3 (316). The tight date range is noteworthy.

For φορολογία see XLVI 3273 2-3 n.

τῶν εὐθenia[κῶν εἰδῶν. *Species annonariae*. Cf. SPP XX 84R i 3 (with A. K. Bowman, *BASP* 15 (1978) 36-7), P. Beatty Panop. 2. 119, P. Oslo III 83.5. (The last text of course is wrongly dated; see R. S. Bagnall, *Currency and Inflation* 23.)

7 Presumably πάντες.

Πεκτὺ. An early reference to this settlement: see P. Pruneti, *I centri abitati dell' Ossirinchi* 141-2.

Last letter: τ[ or π[.

11 Cf. XLIII 3140 2-3 ἐν δευτέρῳ θέμενος, P. Beatty Panop. 2.227?

REVEL COLES

## 4075. DAYBOOK OF THE CURATOR CIVITATIS

11 1B.145/D(d)

17.2 × 16.3 cm

4-13 June 318?

**4075** preserves part of the logistes' daybook, a genre of which only one other possible example has survived, LIV **3741**. For the strategus in the third century W. Chr. 41 provides a close and more extensive parallel. The format of **4075** is unusual, and in contrast with the regular *transversa charta* format of proceedings rolls such as LIV **3758** and **3759**. The records cover both sides of the sheet, written first across the fibres in a wide column and apparently continuing directly (to judge from the day numeration) on to the back. Were lines 1-15 then the last column of the roll on that side? There is no evidence as to whether any more columns (and if so, how many) preceded and followed those that survive, and it is theoretically possible that the sheet was occupied by a single wide column each side. The column width has not been established either side. We can exclude the possibility that we are dealing with a roll used *transversa charta* on both sides, because of the superior surface quality of the second side (16-30) where the text is along the fibres and where too there may be remains of a ragged kollesis. I do not see any reasons to exclude the possibility of the papyrus being from a codex, unless it be the considerable page width needed—a minimum of 25 cm, to judge from 19. On papyrus codex sizes see E. G. Turner, *The Typology of the Early Codex* 14-22. The minimum 25 cm, while not exceptional, would still place the papyrus among Turner's broadest examples.

The logistes is not named but the date can be loosely fixed by the presence of the *πάρεδρος* Euangelus who has appeared in LIV **3767** 3 (329 or 330); it is not certainly the same person, of course, but I think the identity is likely. It should further antedate the fall of Licinius in 324, since the mention of *Διός* in 1 is likely to indicate that the logistes' bureau was closed on Thursdays (cf. LIV **3741**), a practice abandoned after the area came under the control of Constantine (**3741** introd. and LIV **3759**). Most of the days receive very brief entries, as they do in **3741**, but the bulk of both sides of the sheet is taken up with a record of the opening of a will, cf. LIV **3758** 134-155, 181-213. If we may suppose that the opening took place on Payni 12 (line 2), two days after the will was drawn up on Payni 10 (line 20; for a similar rapid succession of drafting, death and the opening of the will cf. **3758** 134 and 151), then the knowledge that Payni 11 (=June 5) was a Thursday enables us to limit the possible years to 307 (our earliest date for the logistes in Oxyrhynchus being 303, LIV **3727**), 312 and 318: for the calculation see V. Grumel, *La chronologie* 316-7. The latest of these dates is to be preferred as coming closest to the other recorded appearance of Euangelus, in 329 or 330 (see above).

[ ] ἰ' ὁ λογιστ[ῆς] τὰ αὐτὰ ἔπραξεν. ἰα' Διὸς  
ο[ῦ]ρη[c] ὁ λογιστῆς

- [ ιβ' — — ἐπὶ παρόντων ] Πτολεμαίου Πτολεμαίου ἐνάρχου  
 πρυτάνεως κ[α]ὶ Ἡρωνος  
 [καὶ ] καὶ Ἡλιοδώρου καὶ Εὐτολμίου ἀρξάντων  
 τῶν α[ὕτ]όθι καὶ Τρια-  
 [δέλφου? Ὡρ]ιγένους καὶ Παθερμουθίου Ἀμμωνίου καὶ  
 Ζω[ι]λᾶ Ἀμμωνίου  
 5 [ ] Διδύμου υἱοῦ Διδύμου καὶ Δημητροῦς  
 γυναικ[ὸς] τοῦ Διδύμου  
 [ ] ὑπηρετῶν καὶ Εὐαγγέλου καὶ Γεμέλλου  
 παρέδρων, Γερρόντιος ῥ(ήτωρ)  
 [εἰ(πεν)· ] ης τῆς αὐτῆς πόλεως ἐπιν[ό]ως  
 ἔσχηκ[εν καὶ μετεκαλέ]σατο  
 [ ] ἀπὸ τῶν αὐτόθι βουλευτῆν καὶ  
 βουλευμ[ατι— c. 15 ]  
 [ ?ἔσφρα]γισμένον ὃν παραδέδωκεν  
 τ. . . [ c. 20 ]  
 10 [ ] νετο σήμερ[ο]ν  
 προσκ. . . [ c. 20 ]  
 [ ] ουκα. [ c. 35 ]  
 [ γρα]μματε[ι— c. 34 ]  
 [ ] λεται. [ c. 34 ]  
 [ ] .ος[. ] .[. ] .[ c. 32 ]  
 15 [ ] .[. ] .[ c. 34 ]

On the reverse, along the fibres:

- ἀγροῖς τὴν δὲ πλεομοιρίαν παρῆναι ἀκολουθῶ[ς  
 κ[ρ]ιθεῖ[ς]ιν [τ]ὸ γραμματεῖον ὅπερ φατέ γεγενῆσθαι καὶ [  
 ἀναγνωσθήσεται ἐκάστου ὑμῶν τῶν .[. ]ο. .[  
 ἑαυτοῦ σφραγίδα. καὶ γραμματείου βουλευματίου [ λυθέντος  
 κεχρονισμένου]  
 20 εἰς τήνδε τὴν ὑπατείαν, μηνὶ Παῦνι ι', καὶ  
 ἀνα[γνωσθέντος μετὰ τὴν ἀνά—]  
 γνωσιν /ὁ λογιστῆς εἰ(πεν)· τὸ μὲν γραμματεῖον λυθ[έν]?

[3-4 ] .οθήσεται π[ρ]ὸς τὸ εἶναι ἐν τοῖς ἀρχ'είοις το[  
 [τῇ ὁς]ίᾳ παρ[α]δ[ο]θῆσεται[α]ι. Γερόντιος ῥ(ήτωρ) εἰ(πεν)· προς.[  
 [ c. 8 ] . ἀξιοῦμεν τὸ αὐθεντικὸν [λαβεῖν(?)]  
 25 [ c. 10 ] . . . ἐστ[α]ι. Γερόντιος ῥ(ήτωρ) εἰ(πεν)· τη[  
 [ c. 13 ] . [ 0-8 ] (vac.)  
 [ιγ'? ] πολιτι[κ-  
 [ιδ'? ] ν' ιε' |  
 [ις' ὁ λογιστῆς τὰ αὐτὰ ἔπ]ραξεν [ιζ'  
 30 [ c. 17 ἐπὶ ] παρόντων[ν

5 1. Δημητροῦτος

6 ὑπηρετων, ευαγ'γελου

20 ὑπατειαν

2 Ptolemaeus is an addition to the list of prytaneis in A. K. Bowman, *The Town Councils of Roman Egypt*, 131-7. There is no other prytanis listed for (317-)318, the preferred year for this text (see the introd. above).

2-6 For a comparable string of names at the beginning of a record of *apertura testamenti* cf. LIV 3758 134-7, 182-4. It is not clear how many and which of the names here are those of the witnesses: the number had to be at least four out of the original seven, cf. 16 n.

5 υἱοῦ Διδύμου and γυναι[κ]ῶς τοῦ Διδύμου may indicate that Didymus is the deceased.

6 Εὐαγγέλου. Cf. introd.

As well as the sequence of day numbers (10th and 11th in 1, 15th in 28), the name of Gerontius (cf. 23, 25) links the two sides of the document together. In contrast with the brief daily entries elsewhere (e.g. the first line), the proceedings that began in 2 occupied the rest of this column and continued on the other side as far as 25-26.

7 τῆς αὐτῆς πόλεως needs an antecedent: Gerontius cannot have begun 'x from the same city fell ill.' An antecedent could have been lost in abridgement of Gerontius' speech. There may be a contrast intended with ἀπὸ τῶν αὐτόθι (8).

9 Perhaps δ{ν}?

16 πλεομοιρίαν. *Add. lexx.* The meaning will be that at least four out of the seven witnesses to the will, the requisite *maior pars*, were present for the opening, one or more of the others being in the country, ἐν ἀγροῖς. Cf. LIV 3758 146 n.

23 [τῇ ὁς]ίᾳ. Cf. 3758 153, 210.

24 τὸ αὐθεντικὸν [λαβεῖν(?)]. Cf. 3758 154 and 208 and 154 n.

28 The notation ιδ' may have come in the preceding line; similarly with ις' in 29, if the restoration (for which cf. 1) were incorrect.

30 After further brief daily entries in 27 ff., it appears that we have the beginning of another fuller report of proceedings here. For ἐπὶ παρόντων cf. 3758 156-8 n.

REVEL COLES

## 4076. REPORT OF PROPERTY REGISTRARS

23 3B.12/F(1-2)a

10.6 × 9.4 cm

320?

This fragment from the upper left corner of a report of the βιβλιοφύλακες (cf. XXXIII 2665) is of prosopographical interest. Like 2665 (addressed to the prytanis and two syndics) it is addressed to a number of persons, in this case at least two



(ex-?) officials, who may have formed some kind of commission. It provides us with the name of a previously unknown Oxyrhynchite strategus, Aurelius Eudaemon alias Helladius (see 4 n.), even though it is not clear whether he was currently in office or not. His partner in whatever office they held is another well known Oxyrhynchite public figure, Valerius Ammonianus alias Gerontius, *curator civitatis* and then acting *curator civitatis* not long before (see P. Oxy. LIV Appendix I). It is not clear what other office he may be holding here (entitling him to retain the *gentilicium* Valerius? LIV 3771 3 n.)—in addition, that is, to the office he shares with Eudaemon. If as I suppose he is now *ex-curator* (ἀπ[ὸ λογιστῶν? in 3), then the date of 4076 can be confined within 320 to the period after PSI V 454, dated in Mecheir (Jan.–Feb.) of that year, when he was still in office (see P. Oxy. LIV p. 224).

The back is blank.

ὑπατείας τῶν δεσποτῶν ἡμῶν Κ[ωνσταντίνου Σεβαστοῦ  
τὸ 5' καὶ Κωνσταντίνου τοῦ ἐπιφανεστάτου]  
Καίσαρος τὸ α'.

Οὐαλερίῳ Ἀμμωνιανῶ τῷ καὶ Γερωντίῳ ἀπ[ὸ λογιστῶν?  
καὶ Αὐρηλίῳ]  
Εὐδαίμονι τῷ καὶ Ἑλλαδίῳ στρατηγ. [ ]  
5 τῆς αὐτῆς πόλεως  
Αὐρήλιοι Ζήνων Μέλανος καὶ Π. . [ ]  
πόλ(εως) βιβλιοφύλακες τοῦ αὐτοῦ νομο[ῦ]  
ἐπεστίλατε ἡμῖν κεκελευμέν[αι]  
Αὐρήλιον Μαρίνον Εὐσέβιον καὶ Οὐα[λέριον?]  
10 ἐπε. [ c. 8 ] υ. . . γραμμ[ά]των [ ]  
. . . [ ]  
. . . . .

1 ὑπατείας 7 πο<sup>λ</sup> 9 1. Εὐσεβίου

'In the consulship of our masters Constantinus Augustus for the 6th time and Constantinus the most noble Caesar for the 1st time.

'To Valerius Ammonianus alias Gerontius, *ex-curator*(?) ... and Aurelius Eudaemon alias Helladius, [ex-(?)] strategus ... of the same city, from Aurelii Zenon son of Melas and P ... , ... city, record-keepers of the same nome ... you informed us that ... had ordered ... Aurelius Marinus son of Eusebius and Valerius(?) ...'

1-2 The consular date is restored on the basis that Valerius Ammonianus alias Gerontius is now *ex-curator* (ἀπ[ὸ λογιστῶν? in 3), see the introd. above. A just possible alternative, on present evidence, would be 319 (Constantine V, Licinius Caesar I), at the beginning of the year before Valerius Ammonianus alias



Gerontius' attested second period of office as *curator* (see P. Oxy. LIV Appendix I). For other considerations see 4 n. I exclude 326 (Constantine VII, Constantius Caesar I) because by this date Ammonianus alias Gerontius should bear the gentilicium Flavius, not Valerius, if he were still in central government service (J. G. Keenan, *ZPE* 11 (1973) 33–63 and 13 (1974) 283–304). Some of the papyrological evidence for 320 omits τοῦ ἐπιφανεστάτου for Constantine Caesar, thus admitting the possibility of a line length 16 letters shorter.

2 The month and day are likely to have followed a restatement (ὑπατείας τῆς αὐτῆς *vel sim.*) of the consular formula at the foot of the document.

3 Ἀμμωνιανῶ intended but the slurred script more resembles Ἀμωνιανῶ.

3 ff. The line length is uncertain, see 1 n.; this complicates attempts to restore 3–4. Οὐαλερίῳ (3) should imply that Eudaemon alias Helladius was an Aurelius, contrast the plural Αὐρηλίοι in 6. τῆς αὐτῆς πόλεως should imply that there was a reference to Oxyrhynchus in 3 or 4. We cannot be certain that only two persons were addressed; another name could have come in the lost part of 4 most probably. If so, supply Αὐρηλίου at the end of 3 and not Αὐρηλίῳ.

4 Our Eudaemon alias Helladius is presumably the same person as the Aurelius Eudaemon alias Helladius, ex-gymnasiarch, bouleutes and bibliophylax in M. Chr. 196 (AD 309: A. K. Bowman, *Town Councils of Roman Egypt* 143). His homonym of c. 284 (XII 1412), with a string of Alexandrian and Oxyrhynchite offices to his credit, may have been his father as Bowman (*op. cit.* 136 n. 21) suggests; the homonym of XL 2904 (17 April 272) may also be identifiable with the father. The son's tenure of the office of strategus (a local posting by this date, of course) is new information. There is no difficulty in fitting him into the lists (see G. Bastianini–J. Whitehorne, *Strategi and Royal Scribes of Roman Egypt* (Pap. Flor. XV) 105) either in 320 (after some time in Mecheir, see introd.) or early 319 (as proposed in 1–2 n. above). The presence of a Eudaemon in XLIV 3194 (29 April 323) may favour the later date. If Eudaemon alias Helladius were not currently in office (the reading in 4 here admits –γῶ or –γῆ[σαντι], there is ample space for him earlier.

8 ἐπεστίλατε ἡμῖν κεκελευμέν[αι]. Cf. XXXIII 2665 10, also a report of the bibliophylakes.

9 The name Valerius—if correct here—should imply that its holder was (or possibly had been) in central government or military service, cf. Keenan *op. cit.* (1 n.).

REVEL COLES

#### 4077. OFFICIAL DOCUMENT (PROCEEDINGS?)

97/139(a)

9.5 × 7 cm

325–337?

This scrap is of interest for the name of a new *curator civitatis* of Oxyrhynchus (cf. line 2), Flavius Achilles. His placing in the chronological sequence (see the list of office holders in P. Oxy. LIV Appendix I) is a problem; the conditions are more or less identical with those for the otherwise unknown Flavius Asclepiades attested by LIV 3768. Here the script suggests the first half of the fourth century, while nomenclature (Flavius) ensures a date of 325 or later (J. G. Keenan, *ZPE* 11 (1973) 49; *ibid.* 13 (1974) 291, 294, 302). The broad date therefore should be between 325–c. 350. Since the date 16 April occurs in line 6, years within the broad period which could be vacant on this day for a new *curator* would be (improbably 325 itself: XLIII 3125, dated to Pharmuthi in this year, has Dioscurides as *curator*), 327, 329, 332–7, 341 and 344 on. For the exclusion of 328, 339 and 340 see 4079–80 and 4084–5 below. A search through the Oxyrhynchus texts in the Duke data bank has yielded only one Achilles who could be identified with our Flavius Achilles, Ἀχιλλέως γενομένου διασημο-

τάτου in XLVIII **3386** 4-5, father of a party to a contract dated 28 March 338. If we might rely on the explanation of *γενομένου διασημοτάτου* offered in the note thereon, we should be able to conclude that Achilles had been *curator civitatis*, deceased by the date of the contract. If so, then identification with our Achilles can hardly be avoided, and 16 April is excluded as a date for **4077** in all years beyond 337, thus reducing the possible range to 325-337.

The content of the scrap may be legal proceedings, cf. 5 n. The script is broadly similar to the scripts of papyri with proceedings published in P. Oxy. LIV, cf. e.g. the section of **3758** on plate XIII. Written along the fibres; the other side is blank. There is no trace of any kollesis on either side. The coarser surface of the written side may suggest that the text is written *transversa charta*.

. . . . .  
 ] . . . ὑμῶν ω[ . ] . . . . . ηρι[  
 ] . . τῆς Ὀξυρρυχίτ[ . . . . . ]  
 το]ὺς αὐτοὺς δεσπότας ἡμῶν το[ . ]  
 ] . ὑπὲρ . . . . . ὑπαρχθῆν[αι?  
 5 ] α Φλάουιος Ἀχιλλεὺς λογιστῆς εἰ(πεν)(?) . . . [   
 ὑπατείας τῆς] αὐτῆς, Φαρμούθι κα. (m. 2?) Αὐρ[ήλιος  
 ] (vac.) . . [   
 (foot?)

5 εἰ(πεν) is very uncertain, the script more resembling ερ; since the remaining traces appear to begin ι or κ, ερ is not helpful. Φρμω[πολίτου] cannot be read. εἰ(πεν) would make excellent sense here, and introduce the *curator*'s decision at the end of the hearing.

6 Following the consular date, the (m.2?) traces are presumably from an official docket or annotation of some kind, continued immediately below in 7.

REVEL COLES

#### 4078. NOMINATION TO A LITURGY

118/20(a)

11.5 × 27 cm

9 February 327

Aurelius Eustochius, a well known systates of Oxyrhynchus (see XLV **3249** introd.), writes to the *curator civitatis* nominating someone for service on a government cargo vessel, no doubt for the river transport of state grain. The closest parallel is XXXIV **2715**.

The text, nearly complete but much damaged, is principally of prosopographical interest. It provides a date for Leucadius as *curator civitatis* of Oxyrhynchus later than

what had been supposed to be the earliest date for his successor Thannyras (16 January 327, I 83 and 83a), thus showing the correctness of K. A. Worp's proposal that 83 and 83a should be dated by the post-consulate and not the consulate of 327 (thus 17 January 328). See 4079–80 introd., and 4079 11 n. for Leucadius' possible later career. These data should be entered in the table in P. Oxy. LIV Appendix I, p. 225.

A supplementary detail of interest is that Leucadius is apparently (unless the repeated name is an error) the son of Leucadius. For the statement of the father's name in similar circumstances cf. P. Harr. II 212.4. We have no information on this senior Leucadius.

XXXIII 2675, 3249 and 4078 are all in Eustochius' own hand, I think, but in 4078 he writes in a peculiarly extrovert manner which is frequently very difficult to interpret. No kollesis is preserved. The back is blank.

[ὕπατείας] Φλα[ουί]ου Κων[ς]ταντίου καὶ Οὐαλερίου Μαξίμου  
 [τῶν λα]μπροτάτων ἐπαρχῶν, Μεχίρ ιε.  
 [Φλαουίω Λ]ευκαδίου Λευκαδίου λογιστῇ Ὁξυρυχίτου  
 [παρὰ Αὐρ]ηλίου Εὐστ[οχί]ου Κοπρέως συστάτου τ[ῆς λ]αμ(πρᾶς)  
 5 [καὶ λαμ](προτάτης) Ὁξυρυχ[ι]τῶν πόλεως. δίδω[μι] εἰς  
 [ὑπηρ]εσίαν δη[μ]οσίου πλατυπηγείου ἀγωγῆς (ἄρταβῶν) φ  
 [3-4+?] υ κατὰ τὴν [Α]λεξάνδρειαν ὑπὸ Α. . . . νον κυ-  
 [βερνη]τὴν ἀπὸ [ c. 7 ]. πόλεως επ. [ ]. ν . . .  
 [3-4+?] . . . . . [ 4-5 ] . . . μοι . . . . . [ . . . ] . . .  
 10 [τὸν ἐ]ξῆς ἐν[γεγρα]μμένον ὄντα ἐπιτήδιον  
 [πρὸς] τὴν χρ[εία]ν. ἔστι δέ· Αὐρήλιος  
 Γερόντι[ο]ς Ζύρου  
 ἀπὸ τῇ[ς αὐ]τῆς πόλεως  
 . . . απ[ . . . ] . . . ρ . . . . . [ . . . ] . . . . .  
 15 Αὐρήλιος [Ε]ὐστ[ό]χιος Κοπρέως  
 συστάτου ἐ[π]ιδέδωκα.

2 l. Μεχίρ      3. l. Λευκαδίω; οξυρυν'χιτο<sup>υ</sup>      4 λαμς'      5 λαμς'οξυρυν'χιτων      6 σ  
 10 l. ἐγγεγραμμένον, ἐπιτήδειον      11 Final sigma extended as line filler; similarly the final letters in  
 13–16      16 l. συστάτης. End of word re-inked.

'In the consulship of Flavius Constantius and Valerius Maximus, *virī clarissimi, praefecti*; Mecheir 15.

'To Flavius Leucadius son of Leucadius, *curator* of the Oxyrhynchite, from Aurelius Eustochius son of Copreus, systates of the glorious and most glorious city of the Oxyrhynchites. I nominate for service on a public flat-bottomed boat of 500 artabas

burden ... (10) the person whose name is written in below and who is suitable for the appointment. As follows: Aurelius Gerontius, son of Syrus, from the same city, ...

'I, Aurelius Eustochius son of Copreus, systates, presented this.'

1-2 For the consuls see R. S. Bagnall *et al.*, *Consuls of the Later Roman Empire* pp. 188-9.

6 δίδω[μι] εἰς [ὑπηρ]εσίαν. Cf. **4079** 10-11, **4080** 10-11. [ὑπηρ], however, may not be wide enough for the space. On the other hand, there is certainly not room to restore [ναυτικὴν ὑπηρ]εσίαν with the two closest parallels, XXXIII **2675** 8-9 (ἀλιάδων γραμματεφόρων τοῦ δξέως δρόμου) and XXXIV **2715** 8 (δημοσίων πλοίων πλατυπηγίων).

πλατυπηγείου. Cf. **2715** 9, LI **3636** 1 and n.

11-12 The name (Αὐρήλιος in 11, all of 12) was a later insertion into a prepared text, as the spacing and paler ink show, although by the same hand (i.e. Eustochius') as the rest of the text. Note, therefore, that the further description (13-14) of the as-yet-unnamed liturgist was set out in advance.

REVEL COLES

#### 4079-4080. NOMINATIONS TO A LITURGY

4 1B.76/(a)

3 May 328

This nomination survives in two separate copies. The two pieces of papyrus were probably cut from one roll in which they were contiguous, but a three layer manufacturer's kollesis falls precisely between them and excludes fibre comparisons. Both texts are in the same hand, and each has a subscription in the same second hand; they are both severely damaged in their centre portions. Aurelius Ammon, *systates* (not recorded elsewhere in P. Oxy.), submits to the *curator civitatis* his nomination of an assistant to the president of the Capitoline Games in Oxyrhynchus. For these games see P. Frisch, *Zehn agonistische Papyri* pp. 37-9.

The wording is basically the same in each copy. Two awkward variations are noted here: the forms of the name of the nominator's father, both peculiar (see **4079** 3 n.); and the apparently irreconcilable lengths of the partly lost and unrecognizable *amphodon*—name in 5-6 in each version. The month and day, useful information here, are omitted in **4080**.

A particular interest of **4079** is the date it supplies for the rarely attested Flavius Thannyras, *curator civitatis* of the Oxyrhynchite. For the troubled spelling of his name see 1 n. I tabulated the published data relevant to his tenure in P. Oxy. LIV Appendix I, p. 225. **4079** should now be entered there as the latest attestation of Thannyras in office, and consequently as providing the date after which Flavius Julianus must have commenced office. My data there need modification in another respect: I accept a proposal (K. A. Worp, by letter) that I **83** and **83a** should be dated by the post-consulate of 327, thus 17 January 328 instead of 16 January 327 as was given in the table in P. Oxy. LIV p. 225; that this must be correct is now shown



by **4078** above. 17 January 328 now becomes the earliest date we have for Thannyras' tenure, and consequently the date by which Flavius Leucadius must have been out of office.

Both backs are blank.

**4079**

8.5 × 24.5 cm

Φλαυίῳ Θαννη[ρ]ᾶ [λογιστῇ]  
 Ὀξυρυγχ[ίτου] παρὰ Αὐρη[λίου]  
 Ἀμμωνο[ς] Ἡρωσιως ἀ[πὸ τῆς]  
 λαμ(πρᾶς) καὶ λαμ(προτάτης) Ὀξυρυγχιτ[ῶν πόλε–]  
 5 ως σεστάτου φυλῆς Τρόμ[ου c. 2–4]  
 ἡτητος καὶ ἄλλων ἀμφότ[ων. ἀκολου–]  
 θως τῇ [ c. 21 ]  
 τ[.]. [ c. 23 ]  
 τοῦ τῆς ἐπαρχικῆς [ἐ]ξ[ουσίας τοῦ]  
 10 διασημοτάτω Σερί[ου δίδωμι]  
 εἰς ἡπερεσίαν Λευ[καδίου ἀγωνοθέ–]  
 [το]υ τοῦ εὐτυχῶς ἐπ[ιτελουμένου]  
 αὐτόθι ἱεροῦ Κᾶ[πιτωλιακοῦ]  
 ἀ[γῶνος τὸν ἐξῆς ἐγ]γεγρα[μμένον]  
 15 ὄντα ἐ[πιτήδειον] πρὸς τὴν χρε[ίαν].  
 ἔστι τέ· Αὐρήλιος (vac.)  
 Χωος Ὀρίωνος ἀπὸ τ[ῆς αὐτῆς]  
 πόλεως τῆς αὐτῆς φυλῆς[ς].  
 Φλαυίου Ἰανουαρίνου καὶ Οὐετ[τίου]  
 20 Ἰούστου τῶν λαμπροτάτων,

Παχὼν η̅ .

(m. 2) Αὐρήλιος Ἀμμων ἐπιδέδωκα.

1 φλαυῖω 1. Φλαουίῳ Θαννυρᾶ

4 λαμς, λαμς

5 1. σεστάτου φυλῆς Δρόμου

6 1. ἀμφόδων

10 1. διασημοτάτου Σερίου

11 1. ὑπερεσίαν

13 ἱεροῦ

16 1. δέ

17 1. Χωοῦς?

18 1. φυλῆς

19 1. Φλαουίου; ἱανουαρινου

20 ἰουστου

22 ἐπιδεδωκ



'To Flavius Thannyras, *curator* of the Oxyrhynchite, from Aurelius Ammon son of Herodion(?) from the illustrious and most illustrious city of the Oxyrhynchites, *systates* of the tribe of the Avenue of ..... and other districts. In accordance with the ..... of the prefectural power of Zenius, *vir perfectissimus*, I nominate for the service of Leucadius, games-president for the propitious performance here of the sacred Capitoline Games, the person whose name is written in below and who is suitable for the appointment. As follows: Aurelius Choüs, son of Horion, from the same city, the same tribe.

'[In the consulship of] Flavius Januarinus and Vettius Justus, *viri clarissimi*, Pachon 8.'

(2nd hand) 'I, Aurelius Ammon, presented this.'

1 [Θ]αννηρᾱ. Cf. **4080** 1. As evidence of the correct spelling of the *curator*'s name, **4079** is obviously worthless, witness the writer's predilection for η in place of υ (e.g. φηλῆς, line 5 in each copy); if anything, -ηρᾱ here can be seen as support for -υρᾱ attested elsewhere (see LIV **3765**).

3 Cf. **4080** 3. 1. *Ηρωσίω<νο>ς*? The two versions, as transcribed, of Ammon's father's name are incompatible and both peculiar. Since the texts were not written by Ammon himself (cf. 22, **4080** 23-4), both forms may derive from inadequate hearing by the none too competent scribe (cf. the extensive *app. crit.*!). If so, perhaps *Ηρωδίωνος* is what should have been written in each case, although this name has not yet been recorded in P. Oxy.

5-6 The *phyle*-name has resisted identification, apart from the obvious error *Τρομ-* for *Δρομ-*. Cf. **4080** 5-6, less well preserved; understanding is not helped by the supposed φ in **4080** 6 and by the apparently different lengths of the two versions. *ητητος* resembles nothing in the list in H. Rink, *Strassen- und Viertelnamen von Oxyrhynchus* 52.

10 *Σενί[ου]*. Cf. **4080** 10. For Septimius Zenius, *praefectus Aegypti*, see P. J. Sijpesteijn-K. A. Worp, *Tyche* 1 (1986) 192, with L. Koenen-P. J. Sijpesteijn, *Archiv f. Pap.* 33 (1987) 55-62. **4079** falls within his known tenure.

11 *εἰς ὑπερεσίαν* (l. *ὑπηρεσίαν*) *Λευ[καδίου]*. Cf. the *ὑπηρεσία Διοσκούριδου* (= the Oxyrhynchite *curator* in 318, 320-325?) in XII **1509**.

*Λευ[καδίου]*. Cf. **4080** 11 *Λευγα[δίου]*. This is probably Thannyras' predecessor as logistes (see P. Oxy. LIV Appendix 1, p. 225), last attested in that office in Feb. 327 (**4078** above), and a suitably distinguished citizen to hold the office of *ἀγωνοθέτης*. This office should then be added to the entry for him in P. Oxy. LIV p. 225 under the heading 'Later career'.

13-14 *Κα[πιτωλιακού] ᾠ[γῶνος]*. For the restoration, corrected here, cf. **4080** 13-14. The initial trace of 14 is indeterminate, so that the actual distribution of letters between 13 and 14 is uncertain, and identification of the first trace of 14 as α is arbitrary.

16 The gap at the end of the line might otherwise suggest that 17-18 were an insertion by the same hand into a ready prepared text, but **4080** gives no parallel impression.

19 *ὑπατείας* apparently omitted; there is hardly space for it at the end of 18.

#### 4080.

8.5 × 24.7 cm

Φλαυίω [Θ]αννηρᾱ λο[γιστῇ]  
 Ὁξυρυγχίτ[ου] παρὰ Αὐρη[λίου]  
 Ἀμμωνος Ηρουσίωρος ἀπ[ὸ τῆς]

5 λαμ(πρᾶς) καὶ λαμ(προτάτης) Ὁξυρυγχιτῶν π[όλεως]  
 σουστάτου φηλῆς Τρομ. . [ c. 4 ]  
 [ 3–4 ] φ. [ c. 5 ἀμ] φ[όδ] ω[ν.] ἀκολ[ού–]  
 [ θωσ τῇ c. 21 ]  
 [ c. 10 ] . . [ c. 14 ]  
 [ του] τῆς ἐπαρχικῆς ἐξουσίας [ τοῦ ]  
 10 [ δ]ιασημοτάτω Σερίου διδ[ωμι]  
 [ ε]ῖς ὑπερεσίαν Λευγα[δίου ἀγω–]  
 νοθαίτου τοῦ εὐτηχῶς ἐπιτελο[υ–]  
 μένου αὐτόθι ἱεροῦ Καπιτωρια–  
 κοῦ ἀγῶ[νος] τὸν ἐξῆς ἐνγεγραμ–  
 15 μένον ὄντα ἐπιτήδειον πρὸς  
 [ τὴν χρεῖαν. ἔστ]ι δέ· Αὐρήλ[ιος]  
 Χωος Ὁρίωνος ἀπὸ τῆς  
 αὐτῆς πόλεως τῆς οὔσης  
 φυλῆς.  
 20 ὑπατείας Φλαυίου < I > αἰγογαρίνου  
 καὶ Οὐεττίου Ἰούστου τῶν λαμ[[ (προτάτων) ]–  
 προτάτων.

m. 2 Αὐρήλιος Ἀμμων ἐπιδέδω–  
 κα.

1 l. Φλαυίῳ Θαννυρᾷ 4 λαμς, λαμς 5 l. σουστάτου φυλῆς Δρόμου 10 l. διασημοτάτου  
 Ζενίου 11–12 l. ὑπηρεσίαν Λευκαδίου ἀγνωσθέντος 12 l. εὐτυχῶς 13–14 l. Καπιτωλιακοῦ  
 14 ἐνγεγραμ<sup>μ</sup> l. ἐγγεγραμ– 15 ε of μενον corr. from α l. ἐπιτήδειον 17 l. Χωοῦς? 20 φλαυίου  
 l. Φλαυίου 21 ουεττίου

3. Cf. 4079 3 n.

5 Τρομ. . . Awkwardly, the remains of the two final letters will hardly accord with ου; ης would be easier.

18 οὔσης. αὐτῆς in 4079 18. Unless οὔσης here is simply a slip, it may deliberately have the implication of λειτουργούσης.

19 φυλῆς corr. from φηλῆς, unless φυλῆς was changed to φηλῆς.

REVEL COLES

#### 4081. SUMMARY OF PRICES DECLARED BY GUILDS

105/81(c)

6.5 × 14 cm

Fourth century

This text provides a second example of the type of document first exemplified by LIV 3765, the bare list of items and prices extracted from a string of guild declarations.

That the new text is not actually part of **3765** is immediately clear because ii 6–11 here record the same items as **3765** vi 41–6.

**4081** records items from the list of the *μυροπῶλαι* (cf. especially LIV **3733** and **3766** v) and the traders in animal hides. We have in fact the last four items from the *μυροπῶλαι*-list (ii 1–4 = **3733** 27–30 = **3766** v 109–112) and the list of hides follows straight on. We see that only one type of hide was lost preceding those listed in **3765** vi, and thus that the *μυροπῶλαι*-list occupied all but the last line of **3765** v. The two guilds were thus handled consecutively in **3765** and a slight modification is admissible to the table on P. Oxy. LIV p. 231 and the note thereto, p. 232 n. 7.

Traces of prices from a preceding column survive on the left, which we do not transcribe. There is no clear change of hand, but the ink and spacing at the end of ii 3 and the cramped layout in col. i to the left of ii 6 suggest that the prices may be insertions (cf. **3765** introd.). It is unfortunate that the prices in col. ii are all so damaged, and that the two items (ii 2–3) to record prices happen to be two of the few in **3766** that have lost them. This makes it difficult to do more than guess roughly at the date of **4081**, except that comparison with the surviving data tabulated on P. Oxy. LIV p. 238 suggests a date later than that of **3766** (AD 329); see ii 2–3 n. Furthermore, uncertainty over the column height in **4081** makes it unprofitable to try and guess to what items the prices in its first column belonged.

Most of the entries are routine, and attested from elsewhere, although the new prices (ii 2–3) are useful information. The main point of interest is provided by the item in ii 4, which has caused problems everywhere else that it has turned up. See the note *ad loc.*

There is no trace of any kollesis. The back is blank except for a few slight ink marks, perhaps offsets or accidental.

## Col. ii

	ἀλκε[ω]τ[ ] . . . [		
	ὀνυχίων	λί(τρας) α	τάλ(αντα) ς (δηνάρια) .[
	ξύλομαστίκ(ης)	λί(τρας) α	τάλ[(αντα)]β[
	ἀλίμματος	λί(τρας) α	ταλ[(αντ )
5	βύρσα μοσχίου τελ(είας?)		ταλ(αντ ) [
	ὑποδεεστέρ(ας)		[τα]λ[(αντ )
	βοῖν[η]ς τελ(είας)		ταλ[(αντ )
	ὑποδ[εεστέρ]ρ(ας) [		
	αἰγί[ο]ν [		
10	ὑποδεεστέρ(ου)		ταλ[(αντ )
	[προβατ]ίου τ[ελ(είου)		τα]λ[(αντ )

2 λ, ταλ· μοσχείου; τελ· ταλ·	3 ξυλομαστικ[λ, ταλ[ ]; l. ξυλομαστίχης	4 l. ἀλείματος; λ	5 l. βύρης
9 l. αἰγείου	6 υποδεεστερ'	7 βοῖν[η]στελ·	8 ὑπο-? Final traces very uncertain
10 υποδεεστερ'	11 l. προβατείου?	Assignment of final trace is very uncertain	

2-3 Comparing the table on P. Oxy. LIV p. 238, it will be seen that in 312 the price for *δουχίων* was roughly three times that of *ξυλομαστίχης*. The same approximate proportion is represented here in **4081**. Returning to 312, the price for *ἀλκεωτίδων* (**3733** 27) may have been the same as for *ξυλομαστίχης*, or slightly more (see app. crit. *ad. loc.*). By 329 the price for *ἀλκεωτίδων* was only 1000 den., whereas here in **4081** the price of *ξυλομαστίχης* is 2(+?) tal. Proportions between the 312 and 329 prices are not consistently maintained, as the table on LIV p. 238 shows, but nevertheless the relatively higher price here for *ξυλομαστίχης* may indicate a date later than 329.

3 *ξυλομαστίκ(ης)*. Cf. LIV **3766** 111 n.

4 LIV **3733** 30 was read as *αλιμαστον*. LIV **3766** v 112 was given as *αλ[ιμαστον]*? (*ed. pr.* (=XXXI **2570** iii) omits the entry), on the basis of this. We excluded *ἀλακάνθου*, cf. **3766** 112 n. **3733** 30 may now confidently be re-read as *ἀλείματος*, to concord with the reading here and at last provide the truth. *ἀλειμμα* is glossed *unguentum* in the *CGL*. The word in our guild-declarations must have meant something more precise than that broad definition, but we have not identified what the specific sense might be.

5 *βύρης* expected. Cf. **3765** 41-7 n., now neatly confirmed.

REVEL COLES

#### 4082. PETITION TO AN *ΕΚΔΙΚΟΣ*

41 5B.88/B(1-2)a

11 × 17.5 cm

9 September 330

Loss of most of the left half of this papyrus, together with an unknown amount at the foot, has made recovery of the details of this petition impossible. An Oxyrhynchite citizen complains apparently of damage (8) done by a neighbour (6) with an axe (7), but beyond that little can be gleaned. The addressee Claudius Hermias was already known, see 3 n.; the present text provides an earlier date for him.

Written along the fibres in a contorted and idiosyncratic hand. The spelling is equally idiosyncratic. There is no kollesis preserved. It is clear from the surface texture that **4082** is written on the true recto, not the verso which is much coarser. The construction of the kollema in strips (*pace* I. H. M. Hendriks, *ZPE* 37 (1980) 121 ff. (his views were re-stated in a modified form in *Atti del XVII Congresso int. di Papirologia* (Napoli, 1984), 31-7); see P. Harr. II 214 introd.) is clear on each side. The back is blank.

[ύπατε]ί[ας] Φλ[αουίου Γαλ]λικανού καὶ Οὐαλερίου Συμμάχου  
τῶν λαμ(προτάτων), Θῶθ ιβ.  
[Κλαυδ]ίῳ Ἑρμίας ἐκδίκω Ὀξυρυγχίτου  
[παρὰ Αὐρηλίου].[. . .]ου Θεωδώρου ἀπὸ τῆς λαμ(πράς) καὶ  
5 [λαμ(προτάτης) Ὀξυρυγχιτῶν π]όλεως. τῇ διελθούσι νοικτὶ  
[ c. 17 ] ἀπὸ τῆς αὐτῆς πόλεως  
[ c. 17 ] c. ἔχων πέλοκα τὴν ἐξοτέραν



	[	c. 15	?θύ]ραν διαρήξατο ἐπαγγέλλον
	[	c. 17	] α οἰκία καὶ ἐγὼ πέλυκι διὰ χι-
10	[	ρὸς c. 13	?ή]μετέραν σύνβιον ἐνγην
	[	c. 17	]νη ἡμῖν πᾶσι εἰρήνη πο-
	[	c. 17	]ακτων δεόντων ἡμῶν
	[	c. 17	]αρων . . [ . ] εἰ μὴ Παῦλος
	[	c. 17	]νοτων ὑπ' αὐτοῦ γινομένω(ν)
15	[	c. 17	]αγενόμενοι ἐπέσχαν τοῦ αν
	[	c. 17	] ἀρπάζαντες παρ' αὐτοῦ καὶ
	[	c. 17	] γεπεποντινεν ὑπ' αὐτοῦ
	[	c. 19	] . . . . . ἄξιων τούτων
	[	c. 32	] . εθυ

2 λαμψ with a diagonal cutting the double curve. So in 4. 4 l. Θεοδώρου. 5 l. διελθούση  
 νυκτί 7 l. πέλυκα, ἐξωτέραν 8 l. διερρήξατο ἐπαγγέλλων 9 l. πέλυκα οἱ πελύκιον? l. χειρός  
 10 l. σύμβιον. See note 14 γινομενω; l. γενομένων 15 l. ἐπέσχον

(Lines 1-5) 'In the consulship of Flavius Gallicanus and Valerius Symmachus, *virī clarissimi*, Thoth 12.'

'To Claudius Hermias, *ekdikos* of the Oxyrhynchite, from Aurelius ..., son of Theodorus, from the illustrious and most illustrious city of the Oxyrhynchites. This past night ...'

1-2 For the consuls see R. S. Bagnall and K. A. Worp, *The Chronological Systems of Byzantine Egypt* 109; T. D. Barnes, *The New Empire of Diocletian and Constantine* 96 (n. 34 requires to be read in conjunction with the correction of T. D. Barnes and K. A. Worp, *ZPE* 53 (1983) 276 and n. 4) and 103-4; R. S. Bagnall *et al.*, *Consuls of the Later Roman Empire* 194-5.

3 Claudius Hermias was already known, cf. XLIV 3195 of 331. For the post of *ἐκδικος* in the early fourth century see LIV 3771 3 n.

4 Trace before ρυ is not τ (for τοῦ; it may be μ), so that space dictates the format παρὰ Αὐρηλίου or Αὐρηλίου (name, son of) Θεοδώρου.

5 For the spelling νυκτί cf. F. T. Gignac, *Grammar* I 198.

7-8 θύραν is perhaps the most likely noun to follow τὴν ἐξωτέραν (7). If so, it may be a mistake to restore it where the papyrus begins in 8 (θύ]ραν).

8 For διαρρηγνύναι in a petition cf. LI 3620 13, a text which has other similarities to 4082.

9 First trace could be ξ. The result may be less problematical than at first appears, given the writer's spelling.

10 ἐνγην for ἐγκυνον? Cf. LI 3620 17-18 n., and S. Adam, *Anag.* 3 (1983) 9-19, esp. 16 ff.

12 δὲ ὄντων?

15 παρ]αγενόμενοι?

ἐπέσχαν. See F. T. Gignac, *Grammar* II 342.

17 What words lurk deformed in the first part of this line have so far escaped us. ] . ρ might be ] . ρυ, and ε might possibly be α.

REVEL COLES



## 4083. DOCUMENT ADDRESSED TO AN OFFICIAL

105/1(a)

6 × 4.7 cm

337

This modest scrap is of interest for providing an earlier attestation of Flavius Eusebius, *curator civitatis* of Oxyrhynchus, than 13 January 338 supplied by VI 892, see P. Oxy. LIV Appendix I p. 228. Although his title here is almost entirely lost, it is hardly conceivable that he is addressed other than as *λογιστής*, given the date and his nomenclature as Flavius (J. G. Keenan, *ZPE* 11 (1973) 49; *ibid.* 13 (1974) 291, 294, 302).

For adjustments to the data given for the end of his period of office in P. Oxy. LIV p. 228, see 4084–5 below.

There is no trace of any kollesis. The back is blank.

ὑπατείας Φλαουίου Φηλ[ικιανού καὶ Φαβίου]  
 Τιτιανού τῶν λαμ[προτάτων, month & day?]  
 Φλαουίῳ Εὐσεβ[ίῳ] λ[ογιστῇ Ὁξυρυγχείτου]  
 παρὰ Αὐρηλίου Ἀμ[ c. 18 ]  
 5 ἀπὸ τῆς αὐτ[ῆς πόλεως c. 13 ]  
 [. ]. νου. [

5 For ἀπὸ τῆς αὐτῆς πόλεως consequent on Ὁξυρυγχείτου cf. e.g. LIV 3772.

6 Possibly no letter lost before the first trace.

REVEL COLES

## 4084. DOCUMENT ADDRESSED TO AN OFFICIAL

A 6/3(A)

14.5 × 8 cm

6 May 339

4083 above provided us with a new earliest date for Flavius Eusebius, *curator civitatis* of the Oxyrhynchite, thus modifying the data in P. Oxy. LIV Appendix I p. 228. 4084 now allows us to modify the data for the end of his tenure, which it extends by over five months. Further modifications to those data are supplied by 4085 below which has a new earliest date for Eusebius' successor Eulogius, showing him to be already in office at some time between 7–25 May 339 (i.e. this same month), thus almost entirely eliminating the substantial gap between their previously attested tenures.

Written along the fibres, *transversa charta*, as a horizontal kollesis proves. The papyrus comes from a τόμος συγκολλήσιμος; there are scanty remains of the item which

adjoined at the left edge (with a four-layer join), with ink traces possibly in the same hand.

The papyrus breaks off early enough to leave the more precise nature of the document unclear. A docket on the back mentions an ἀσφάλεια, a pledge of some kind, operative from Thoth to the current month Pachon. The docket is written much larger, but is possibly still by the main hand of the front.

ὑπατείας τῶν δεσποτῶν ἡμῶν Κων[σταντίου τὸ βς' καὶ]  
 Κώνσταντος τὸ ας' Αὐγούστῳ[ν, Παχῶ]ν ια'.  
 Φλαουίῳ Εὐσεβίῳ λογιστῇ Ὁξ[υρρυγ]χείτο[υ]  
 παρὰ Αὐρηλίας Νόννας Ἀγαθοῦ Δαίμονος καταμεν[ο]ύσης  
 5 [ἐ]ν τῇ Ὁξυρρυγχειτῶν πόλει γυναικὸς Φλαουίου Διονυσίου  
 [βιάρ]χου ἀριθμοῦ ἱππέων Μάυρων σκουταρίων κομιτατῆς[ο]ύ[ν]  
 [ὑ]πὸ Λουππιανὸν πρ[ο]σῆλθον. τοῦ ἡμετέρου συμβίου  
 τοῦ προκίμενον Διονυσίου μετὰ τῆς οὐξηξιλλατίωνος  
 [ἐκδ]η[μο]ν[ο]ύ[ν]τος εἰς . . . . . μενεῖν οὐκ οἶδα  
 10 [ c. 16 ] καὶ . . . . . αὐτοῦ  
 [ c. 23 ] . . . . .  
 . . . . .

Back

.. ἀσφάλειαν ἀπὸ Θῶθ  
 ἕως Παχῶν λγς' κγς' ιες ζς'  
 ἐπὶ Εὐσεβίου λογιστοῦ.

1 ὑπατείας      6 ἀριθμῶν      12 1. ἀσφάλειαν

'In the consulship of our masters Constantius for the 2nd time and Constans for the 1st time, Augusti, Pachon 11.'

'To Flavius Eusebius, *curator* of the Oxyrhynchite, from Aurelia Nonna, daughter of Agathus Daemon, dwelling in the city of the Oxyrhynchites, wife of Flavius Dionysius, biarch of a *numerus* of the *equites Mauri scutarii comitatenses* under Lupianus, *praepositus*. My husband the aforesaid Dionysius being away(?) with the detachment ...'

(Back) '... a pledge from Thoth to Pachon of year 33, 23, 15, 6, in the presence of Eusebius, *curator*.'

3 The line is an insertion, possibly by a different hand, squeezed into the normal between-line space following line 2.

6 For the rank of βιάρχος see BGU XII 2138.3 n.; A. H. M. Jones, *Later Roman Empire* I 634, 674.

For the *Mauri* see BGU XII 2141.6 n.; P. Charite 7.3–5 n., and J. Modrzejewski, *Arch. f. Pap.* 32 (1986) 147, with references. A detachment is known to have formed a garrison at Hermopolis for two centuries from 340. Presumably that is also their function here (this may explain Nonna's description of herself (4–5) as *καταμενούσης* in Oxyrhynchus). **4084** would then be the earliest reference to that unit.

7 A Lupianus, *praepositus*, is known from the fourth century XII **1513** 3, but the army unit is different.

13 For the regnal year pattern here see R. S. Bagnall–K. A. Worp, *Chronological Systems of Byzantine Egypt* 37 ff., esp. 38–9.

REVEL COLES

#### 4085. SWORN DECLARATION TO THE LOGISTES

A 171/37

7.3 × 6.3 cm

7–25 May, 339

The preceding papyrus provided a new latest date (6 May 339) for Flavius Eusebius as *curator civitatis* of the Oxyrhynchite. The principal usefulness of this new scrap is to allow yet another modification to the list of *curatores civitatis* of Oxyrhynchus, P. Oxy. LIV Appendix I p. 228, by providing a new earliest attestation for Eusebius' successor Flavius Eulogius in office, between 7–25 May 339. On the changeover, note LV **3794** 2–3 n. (where the names of Eulogius and Eusebius should be transposed, see the list of addenda and corrigenda in P. Oxy. LVIII). **4085** allows us to fix the *curator* in **3794** as Eulogius, and it is no longer likely that anyone intervened between the two. Eulogius' later career as envisaged by W. H. C. Frend, *ZPE* 79 (1989) 249–50, will not accord with my tabulated data, P. Oxy. LIV pp. 228–9.

Across the fibres on the back are parts of eight lines of faded cursive, perhaps a register.

ὑπατεία[ς] τῶν [δεσποτῶν ἡμῶν]  
 Κωνσταντίου τ[ὸ] β['] καὶ Κώνσταντος]  
 τὸ α' τῶν Αὐγούστων, Παχ[ὼν day. ]  
 Φλαουίῳ Εὐλογίῳ λογιστῇ [Ὁξυρυγχίτου]  
 5 παρὰ Αὐρηλίου Ἀπολλῶ Παθερ[μουθίου]  
 ἀπὸ τῆς αὐτῆς πόλεως[ c. 8 ]  
 τὴν τέχνην. ὁμολογ[ῶ ὁμνῶς]  
 τὸν σεβάσμιον θῖον [ὄρκον τῶν]  
 δεσποτῶν ἡμῶν Αὐ[γούστων]  
 10 [ . . . . . ] . [ . . . ] . . [

7 l. τέχνην

8 l. θεῖον

'In the consulship of our masters Constantius for the 2nd time and Constans for the 1st time, Augusti; Pachon [     ].

'To Flavius Eulogius, *curator* of the Oxyrhynchite, from Aurelius Apollos son of Pathermuthius from the same city, a ... by trade. I acknowledge, swearing the august divine oath of our masters the Augusti ...'

<sup>3</sup> The day has to be the 12th or later, cf. **4084** above where Eulogius' predecessor as logistes is still in office on Pachon 11.

8-9 For the oath formula see K. A. Worp, *ZPE* 45 (1982) 204.

REVEL COLES

#### 4086. DECLARATION TO THE STRATEGUS

101/4(a)

9 × 13.5 cm

345

This sworn declaration concerning a delivery possibly to Alexandria provides surprising information regarding the now well-known Flavius Julianus who had held the post of *curator civitatis* at Oxyrhynchus among other appointments in a long and distinguished career, see P. Oxy. LIV Appendix I, pp. 225-6. **4090** below adds a further detail to the later development of that career.

We now find Flavius Julianus apparently as strategus (no other restoration of *στρα*[ seems plausible) in AD 345, at a stage when he had already held several more important appointments. To suppose that we are dealing with another Julianus would be an artificial solution and would in any case only partly alleviate the difficulties, since our evidence indicates that strategi were not *ex officio* Flavii (J. G. Keenan, *ZPE* 13 (1974) 291 n. 171). We must, I think, conclude not only that Julianus is here retaining the title of Flavius which he had obtained by virtue of a previous higher office, but that he is holding what has been regarded as a junior appointment subsequent to his tenure of other senior posts.

We can now see that the same progression from *curator* to strategus occurred in the career of Flavius Paeianus alias Macrobius, see **4089** and **4091** below, correcting P. Oxy. LIV Appendix I, pp. 227-8. We could reconsider Flavius Paniscus, P. Köln Panop. 30 (see LIV **3771** 3 n.).

There is no trace of a kollesis. On the back are faded and abraded remains of a grain account, plus other writing at right angles possibly shorthand.

μετὰ τὴν ὑπατείαν Φ[λα]ουίου Α[εοντίου ἐπάρχου τοῦ ἱεροῦ]  
 πραιτωρίου καὶ Φλαουίου Καλ[λουστίου τῶν λαμπροτάτων.]  
 Φλαουίῳ Ἰουλιανῷ στρα[τηγῷ Ὀξυρυγχίτου]  
 παρὰ Αὐρηλίου Ὠριγένους .[     c. 24     ]



5 Θηβαῖδος. ὁμολογῶ ὁμν[ὺς τὴν θείαν καὶ οὐράνιον τύχην]  
τῶν δεσποτῶν ἡμῶν αἰῶ[νίων Αὐτοῦςτων παρειληφέ—]  
ναι παρὰ τῶν ἐξῆς ἐνγεγρα[μμένων c. 16 ]  
αδων εἴκοσι ἀπὸ λόγου τῆς [x ἰνδικτίωνος?]  
ἐπὶ τῷ με ταύτας ἀποκομίσ[αι? εἰς τὴν Ἀλεξάνδρειαν? καὶ ]  
10 γράμματα ἐπενεγκεῖν τῆς πα[ραστάσεως. ἔστι δέ? ]  
ἰδιωτικοῦ κανόνος [ ]  
δεσποτι[κοῦ κανόνος ]

5 θηβαῖδος                      7 1. ἐγγεγρα-                      10 επενεγ'κειν

‘After the consulship of Flavius Leontius, prefect of the sacred praetorium, and Flavius Sallustius, *viri clarissimi*.

‘To Flavius Julianus, strategus of the Oxyrhynchite, from Aurelius Horigenes . . . Thebaid. I acknowledge, swearing by the divine and heavenly Fortune of our masters the eternal Augusti, that I have taken charge, from the persons listed below, of twenty . . . from (the) account of the  $n$ th indiction(?), to the end that I convey them to Alexandria(?) and produce receipts for their delivery. [As follows(?):]

'Private assessment' [

'Imperial assessment' [

1-2 The reading  $\Delta[\Phi]$  ( $\Phi$  is not possible) excludes AD 349 (post-consulate of 348) as the date. Amantius and Albinus, consuls for 345, were known in Egypt from May 345, see R. S. Bagnall and K. A. Worp, *Chron. Systems of Byz. Egypt* 111 and R. S. Bagnall *et al.*, *Consuls of the Later Roman Empire* 225, so that the date here should fall in the first few months of the year.  $\tau\acute{\omega}\nu \lambda\alpha\mu\pi\rho\sigma\acute{\alpha}\tau\omega\nu$  in 2 will fill the calculated space neatly, but the papyri offer other versions for the titulature, see Bagnall-Worp *op. cit.* Month and day probably came at the foot after  $\upsilon\pi\alpha\tau\epsilon\acute{\iota}\alpha\varsigma \tau\eta\varsigma \alpha\upsilon\tau\eta\varsigma$  *vel sim.*, as often in this period.

5-6 Cf. P. Nag Hamm. (*Nag Hammadi Studies* XVI) 65.4-6; K. A. Worp, *ZPE* 45 (1982) 203-4.

7-8 Comparison with XLVIII 3396 17, 3399 5 and LIX 4000 6 suggests that we might restore *δηναρίων μυριάδας μυρί*·άδων *εἰκοσι*. This substantial sum might not be out of place in the context of 11-12; nevertheless it would be surprising to encounter myriads of myriads of denarii as early as this.

REVEL COLES

#### 4087-4088. *MANSIO* ACCOUNTS: TACONA AND OXYRRHYNCHUS

These two numbers preserve an extensive run of the accounts of the *mansiones* of the *cursus publicus* at Tacona (in the north of the Oxyrhynchite nome) and at Oxyrhynchus itself in the mid-fourth century, listing and identifying the number of persons staying each day and the number of animals with them and the amount of rations issued. **4087**, on four pieces with parts of six columns between them, tight-



packed, cursive and very abbreviated, covers all of Phaophi and much of Hathyr and Choeac. Entries are not quite strictly chronological (there are irregularities in the entries for late Phaophi). The backs of the pieces are all blank. The layout of **4088**, which occupies both sides of its sheet, is more generous, well spaced and in a fluid more elegant hand. The columns are handsomely broad, and the last column of the 'verso' immediately precedes the first column of the 'recto'. All entries here relate to Payni where the month is ascertainable, but curiously are not chronologically arranged within the month; the text must have been adapted, from something more like **4087**. At the end of the month (i.e. Payni) there is a summary of the rations issued in that month (lines 82–4). The same thing happened at the end of Phaophi (**4087** 79–81) and was presumably routine, although lost at the ends of the other months partly covered by these accounts.

It will be clear from the physical description that there is no direct connection between **4087** and **4088**; nor does any firm indication of the year concerned survive in either text. Scripts indicate the fourth century, not much later than its middle. For **4088** a fairly precise indication of the date is provided by the mention of Flavius Felicissimus (line 56), *vir perfectissimus, dux Aegypti*, known in that office 347–350 (*PLRE* I 331). There appears to have been a consular date at the beginning of **4087**, being the beginning of the entries for Phaophi (line 1), and again at line 85 at the start of Hathyr, but nothing but the word ἐπάρχων survives from either. Possible years where the consular formula ends ἐπάρχων are 310, 327 and 331, with the possible addition of 344 since P. Abinn. 59 attests the incorrect use of ἐπάρχων for its post-consulate in 345. For none of these years is a post-consulate likely for **4087**, given its position late in the Julian year. For the consular formulas in Greek see R. S. Bagnall and K. A. Worp, *Chronological Systems of Byzantine Egypt* 106 ff.

The standard entry format identifies the travelling party, in the dative; establishes the direction of travel; counts the days [nights?] spent in each *mansio* (always 1 in Tacona, 2 in Oxyrhynchus), and specifies the days of the month; totals the days (always 3), and states the number of rations for men (ἀννῶναι, always abbreviated αν·) and animals (κάπιτα, abbreviated καπ· or καπιτ) issued per day—i.e. we get here the actual size of the party (unless anyone is receiving multiple rations). For *annonae* and *capita* see J. R. Rea *et al.*, *YCS* 28 (1985) 101–4 and cf. XVI **2046** verso. Note the ration tables in A. H. M. Jones, *LRE* (1973) II 1261. The amounts in **4087** and **4088** do not tally with any of these scales. The various ration elements are then separated but the amounts given are for the full three day period. The components are, for the men, one sixth of a modius of bread (see **4087** 79), one sextarius of wine and half a litra of meat per day; and for the animals, half a modius of barley and twenty litrai of chaff per day. For a discussion of the equivalents of these amounts, see R. P. Duncan-Jones, *ZPE* 21 (1976) 43–62. For the bread:barley ratio of 1:3, cf. M. P. Speidel, *Anc. Soc.* 20 (1989) 241–2 and n. 17. With the number of visitors fluctuating considerably and perhaps unpredictably, it will not have been easy to

provision the *mansiones* with adequate but not excessive fresh stocks. Other commodities would have been less of a problem, but a good part of the meat may have needed to be salted (Jones, *LRE* (1973) I 628–9). See **4087** 83, where upwards of 1000 litrai of meat are still in stock for use the following month.

The basis of the arrangement of the entries in **4088** has not been discovered, except that they are grouped into sections effectively headed ἐξ ἀνωναρ(ίων) τοῦ δεῖνός (9–10, 11, 61–2, 63, 71–2, 73, 80–81; there is an introductory and a summarizing reference for each section). I understand this as identifying the officials who supplied warrants (cf. J. R. Rea *et al.*, *YCS* 28 (1985) 101) enabling the travelling parties to use the facilities of the *mansiones*. All those doing so during Payni were then travelling under the authority of one of four (sets of) such officials—there were no more than four involved, since the Payni accounts are complete (see 82–4 n.). The further identification of one of these sets of officials could be of interest, see 63 n. Why, in rearranging the entries under these headings, the scribe abandoned the chronological pattern of **4087** is not clear. Another difficulty is that **4087** carries no indication of the authorising official for each travelling party; the *mansio* officials must have recorded this information in another form.

The format, apart from the identification of the travelling group, is routine, so that even fragmentarily preserved columns can be restored with confidence. The pattern is regular throughout: one day (night?) at Tacona and the next two in Oxyrhynchus for parties travelling southwards, the reverse (two in Oxyrhynchus, one at Tacona) for parties travelling northwards. The travel days can often be established even if only one figure survives (more easily in **4087** with its chronological arrangement), and it only needs one ration figure to establish the size of the party. The largest group we have recorded contained 52 persons (**4087** 168–170); the number of animals (baggage animals? horses?) usually equalled the number of men, but was often very slightly more, and could be less—apparently none at all in the case of the 52-person group. There were frequently overlaps between the travelling groups: on Choeac 13 there were at least ninety people staying at the Tacona *mansio* (**4087** 168–173, 177–9), so that we have a picture of an establishment both large and constantly busy.

The direction of travel, where ascertainable, seems to have been roughly balanced over these periods between travel southwards and northwards although there is a noticeable period (**4087** col. i), covering most of the first half of Phaophi, when all the traffic is northwards.

The Thebaid is almost invariably given as the departure point for groups travelling north or as the destination for groups travelling south, presumably because Oxyrhynchus was effectively the border point. Destinations are rarely stated for the former group (**4088** 50); only occasionally are departure points given for groups travelling south (**4087** 73, 119; **4088** 55). The references to Antioch (**4088** 50, 55) and Chalcedon (**4087** 119) are interesting but insufficient to allow any historical deductions. The former will have been the headquarters of the *comes Orientis* (cf. **4088** 63 n.).

Tacona was already known as a stage point in the *Itin. Anton.*, 157.1, where the distance to Oxyrhynchus is given (157.2) as 24 Roman miles. It is well documented by papyri: see A. Calderini-S. Daris, *Diz. geogr.* IV 340-1 and P. Pruneti, *I centri abitati dell' Ossirinichite* 190-2. For further data see the note below on **4087** 2.

It is perhaps of interest that two separate *mansiones* appear in the accounts. I supposed above that **4088**, which is not chronologically arranged, must have been adapted from an account like **4087**. **4087** must in turn have been collated from separate accounts for each *mansio*. **4087** is then the 'master copy' for the nome; Tacona and Oxyrhynchus itself were the only stage points in the nome. Caene to the north (*Itin. Anton.* 156.5) was in the Heracleopolite nome (*Diz. geogr.* III 48) while Ibiu to the south (*Itin. Anton.* 157.3) was in the Hermopolite, see M. Drew-Bear, *Le nome Hermopolite* 123. For *mansiones* see P. Köln V p. 255.

The pattern of damage, especially in **4087**, has deprived us of the identity of many of the travelling groups. Where they can be identified, the groups are overwhelmingly military in character. None is specifically described as acting as a messenger. The smallest group of which we know the size comprised two persons (**4088** 64-7). The groups travelling in Phaophi-Choeac are mostly a good deal larger than those travelling in Payni. Occasionally (**4088** 41, 50) one can recognize the return northwards of a group that had travelled south earlier; in each case the interval between the two sojourns was approximately three weeks. The time spent at the most southerly (i.e. furthest) destination will obviously have been much less than this.

Persons travelling, or their entourages, include a number of tribunes (**4087** 20?, 26?, 76, 174, 177 and 186; **4088** 33); *palatini* (**4087** 70, 73 and 162); a *praepositus sacri cubiculi* (**4087** 11); a *comes, vir clarissimus* (**4087** 119; another in 183); other *comites* (**4087** 14, 89, 93, 109, 113, 116, 168 and 171); a *praepositus* (**4088** 24); *scutarii* (**4088** 28, 37 and 45; note also 33), and veterans (**4088** 68). Nowhere is there any indication that we should not take the daily rations indicated in each case at their face value, i.e. one ration per person per day; thus there is no indication that any of these officials might be privileged by the receipt of extra rations.

In **4088** a kollesis occurs halfway along the lines of col. i on the recto side. The strip construction of the left hand kollema is very clear. The edges of the strips give the impression of having been treated in some way, smoothed down perhaps. In **4087** we can establish the order of the four pieces because of the months they cover, but equally we can see that there were broad gaps between the pieces; given the added factor that the sides of the pieces are mostly badly shredded, close study of kollesis positions and attempted fibre comparisons are not worthwhile.

Both texts are heavily abbreviated, but the forms of the abbreviations in each are fairly consistent. In the interests of saving space, I only record the form of an abbreviation for the first place where it is preserved, and thereafter only draw attention to radically deviant forms. The use or omission of dots or strokes after some words and especially after numerals (whether cardinal or ordinal) at any point in the entry seems quite arbitrary.



## 4087

119/12+33+34+35

Max. height 28 cm

310, 327, 331 or 344?

(Col. i)

- 1 [ὕπατείας . . . . .] .[. . .] ἐπάρχων
- 2 [ . . . . . τῆς Θηβαΐδ(ος) ἐν μονῇ Τακόν[α ὑ(πέρ) ἡμέρ(ας) α]
- 3 [Θῶθ λ καὶ ἐν τῇ πόλει ὑ(πέρ) ἡμερ(ῶν) β Φα]ῶφι α καὶ β  
(γίνονται) ἡμέρ(αι) [γ] ἡμερ(ῆς) (ἰως) ἀν(νῶναι) δ' κά[πιτ(α) δ]
- 4 [(γίνονται) ἄρτ(ων) ἀν(νῶναι) ιβ οἴ(νου) ξ(έσται) ιβ κρέως  
λί(τραι) ς κριθῶν κάπιτ(α) ιβ οἱ μόδ(ιοι) ς] ἀχύρ(ου)  
κάπιτ(α) ιβ αἱ λί(τραι) ςμ.
- 5 [ . . . . .] κατερχομ(ένοις) ἀπὸ Θηβαΐδ(ος) ἐν τῇ πόλει ὑ(πέρ)
- 6 [ἡμερ(ῶν) β Φαῶφι . καὶ . καὶ Τακόνα ὑ(πέρ) ἡμέρ(ας) α  
Φαῶφι .] (γίνονται) ἡμέρ(αι) γ ἡμερ(ῆς) (ἰως) ἀν(νῶναι) ιε  
(γίνονται) ἄρτ(ων) ἀν(νῶναι) με οἴ(νου)
- 7 [(inset) ξ(έσται) με κρέως λί(τραι)] κβξ. (vac.)
- 8 [ . . . . .] κατερχομ(ένοις) ἀπὸ Θηβαΐδ(ος) ἐν τῇ πόλ(ει) ὑ(πέρ)
- 9 [Φαῶφι . καὶ . καὶ Τακόνα ὑ(πέρ) ἡμέρ(ας) α Φαῶφι .  
(γίνονται) ἡμέρ(αι)] γ ἡμερ(ῆς) (ἰως) ἀν(νῶναι) κδ κάπιτ(α) κδ  
(γίνονται) ἄρτων
- 10 [ἀν(νῶναι) οβ οἴ(νου) ξ(έσται) οβ κρέως λί(τραι) λς κριθῶν  
κάπιτ(α) οβ οἱ] μόδ(ιοι) λς ἀχύρ(ου) κάπιτ(α) οβ αἱ λί(τραι)  
Αυμ.
- 11 [ . . . . .] πραιπ(οσίτου) θείου κουβίκλων κατερχομ(ένοις) ἀπὸ
- 12 [Θηβαΐδ(ος) ἐν τῇ πόλ(ει) ὑ(πέρ) ἡμερ(ῶν) β Φαῶφι β καὶ γ καὶ  
Τακόνα] ὑ(πέρ) ἡμέρ(ας) α Φαῶφι δ (γίνονται) ἡμέρ(αι) γ  
ἡμερ(ῆς) (ἰως)
- 13 [ἀν(νῶναι) κ κάπιτ(α) κ (γίνονται) ἄρτ(ων) ἀν(νῶναι) ξ οἴ(νου)  
ξ(έσται) ξ κρέως λί(τραι) λ κριθῶν κάπ]ιτ(α) ξ οἱ μόδ(ιοι) λ  
ἀχύρ(ου) κάπιτ(α) ξ αἱ λίτρ(αι) Ας.
- 14 [ . . . . .] κόμιτος κα[τερχομ(ένοις) ἀπὸ Θηβαΐδ(ος) ἐν τῇ  
πόλει ὑ(πέρ) ἡ-

- 15 [μερ(ῶν) β Φαῶφι . καὶ . καὶ Τακόνα ὑ(πὲρ) ἡμέρ(ας) α Φαῶφι .  
(γίνονται) ἡμέρ(αι) γ] ἡμερης(ίως) ἀν(νῶναι) λ κάπιτ(α) λ  
(γίνονται) ἄρτ(ων)
- 16 [ἀν(νῶναι) ρ οἴ(νου) ξ(έσται) ρ κρέως λί(τραι) με κριθῶν κάπιτ(α)  
ρ οἱ μὸδ(ιοι) με ἀχύρ(ου) κάπιτ(α) ρ αἱ λί(τραι)] Αω.
- 17 [ ] κατερχομ(ένοισ) ἀπ[ὸ Θ]ηβαῖδ(ος) ἐν τῇ πόλ(ει)  
ὑ(πὲρ) ἡμερ(ῶν)
- 18 [β Φαῶφι . καὶ . καὶ Τακόνα ὑ(πὲρ) ἡμέρ(ας) α Φαῶφι . (γίνονται)  
ἡμέρ(αι)] γ ἡμερης(ίως) ἀν(νῶναι) κη κάπιτ(α) λ (γίνονται)  
ἄρτων
- 19 ἀν(νῶναι) πδ οἴ(νου) ξ(έσται) πδ κρέως λί(τραι) μβ κριθῶν  
κάπιτ(α) ρ οἱ μ]όδ(ιοι) με ἀχύρ(ου) κάπιτ(α) ρ [αἱ] λί(τραι)  
Αω.
- 20 [ ?τριβο]ύνου κατερχ[ομ(ένοισ)] ἀπ[ὸ Θ]ηβαῖδ(ος) ἐν τῇ  
πόλ(ει) ὑ(πὲρ) ἡ-
- 21 [μερ(ῶν) β Φαῶφι . καὶ . καὶ Τακόνα ὑ(πὲρ) ἡμέρ(ας) α Φαῶ]φι .  
(γίνονται) ἡμέρ(αι) γ ἡμερης(ίως) ἀν(νῶναι) κη κάπιτ(α) λ  
(γίνονται) ἄρτ(ων)
- 22 [ἀν(νῶναι) [δ οἴ(νου) ξ(έσται) πδ κρέως λί(τραι) μβ κριθῶν  
κάπιτ(α) ρ οἱ μὸδ(ιοι) με ἀχ]ύρ(ου) κάπιτ(α) ρ αἱ λί(τραι)  
Αω.
- 23 [ κατερ]χομ(ένοισ) ἀπὸ Θηβαῖδ(ος) ἐν τῇ πόλ(ει) ὑ(πὲρ)  
ἡμερ(ῶν) β
- 24 [Φαῶφι . καὶ . καὶ Τακόνα ὑ(πὲρ) ἡμέρ(ας) α Φαῶφι . (γίνονται)  
ἡμέρ(αι) γ ἡμερ]ης(ίως) ἀν(νῶναι) [κ] κάπιτ(α) κδ (γίνονται)  
ἄρτ(ων) ἀν(νῶναι) ξ οἴ(νου) ξ(έσται) ξ
- 25 [κρέως λί(τραι) λ κριθῶν κάπιτ(α) οβ οἱ μὸδ(ιοι) λς ἀχύρ(ου)  
κάπιτ(α)] οβ αἱ λί(τραι) Αυμ.
- 26 [ ] . . . . νου κατερχομ(ένοισ) ἀπὸ Θηβαῖδ(ος) ἐν τῇ πόλει
- 27 [ὑ(πὲρ) ἡμερ(ῶν) β Φαῶφι . καὶ . καὶ Τακόνα ὑ(πὲρ) ἡμέρ(ας) α  
Φαῶφι] . (γίνονται) ἡμέρ(αι) γ ἡμερης(ίως) ἀν(νῶναι) κδ  
κάπιτ(α) κδ
- 28 [(γίνονται) ἄρτ(ων) ἀν(νῶναι) οβ οἴ(νου) ξ(έσται) οβ κρέως λί(τραι)



λς κριθῶν κάπιτ(α) οβ οί μόδ(ιοι)] λς ἀχύρ(ου) κάπιτ(α) [ο]β  
αί λί(τραι) *Αυμ.*

- 29 [ κατερχομ](ένοις) ἀπὸ Θηβαῖδ(ος) ἐν τῇ πό[λ(ει)] ὑ(πέρ)  
ἡμερ(ῶν)  
30 [β Φαῶφι . καὶ . καὶ Τακόνα ὑ(πέρ) ἡμέρ(ας) α Φαῶφι .  
(γίνονται) ἡμέρ(αι) γ ἡμερ]ης(ίως) ἀν(νῶναι) κ κάπιτ(α) κ  
(γίνονται) ἄρτ(ων) ἀν(νῶναι) ξ  
31 [οἴ(νου) ξ(έσται) ξ κρέως λί(τραι) λ κριθῶν κάπιτ(α) ξ οί μόδ(ιοι) λ  
ἀχύρ(ου) κάπιτ(α)] ξ αὶ λί(τραι) *Ας.*  
32 [ κατε]ρχομ(ένοις) ἀπὸ Θηβαῖδ(ος) ἐν τῇ πόλει  
33 [ὑ(πέρ) ἡμερ(ῶν) β Φαῶφι . καὶ . καὶ Τακόνα ὑ(πέρ) ἡμέρ(ας) α  
Φαῶφι . (γίνονται) ἡ]μέρ(αι) γ [ἡμερ]ης(ίως) ἀν(νῶναι) κ  
κάπιτ(α) κ  
34 [(γίνονται) ἄρτ(ων) ἀν(νῶναι) ξ οἴ(νου) ξ(έσται) ξ κρέως λί(τραι) λ  
κριθῶν κάπιτ(α) ξ οί μόδ(ιοι) λ ἀχύρ(ου) κάπιτ(α)] ξ αὶ  
λί(τραι) *Ας.*

(foot?)

(Col. ii)

- 35 ἀνθρ[ώποις  
36 Φαῶφι .[  
37 κρέως λί(τραι) [  
38 . . . . .[ ἐν μο]νῇ Τα-  
39 κόνα [ὑ(πέρ)] ἡμέρ(ας) α' Φαῶ[φι ]...  
40 (vac.) [  
41 ἀν[θ]ρώποις καὶ κτῆ[σιν κατερχομ(ένοις) ἀπὸ  
Θηβαῖδ(ος) ἐν τῇ πόλ(ει) ὑ(πέρ) ἡμερ(ῶν)]  
42 β [Φ]α[ῶ]φι ι . κ[αὶ] ι . καὶ Τακόνα ὑ(πέρ) ἡμέρ(ας) α Φαῶφι ι .  
(γίνονται) ἡμέρ(αι) γ ἡμερ]ης(ίως) ἀν(νῶναι) κδ κάπιτ(α) x  
(γίνονται) ἄρτ(ων) ἀν(νῶναι) οβ οἴ(νου) ξ(έσται)]  
43 οβ κρ[έως λί(τραι) λς κριθῶν] κάπιτ(α) [  
44 ἀνθρώποις καὶ κτῆσιν Γεμει[ν]ίου [ ἐν μονῇ Τακόνα  
ὑ(πέρ) ἡμέρ(ας) α Φαῶφι]

- 45 ιζ καὶ ἐν τῇ πόλ(ει) ὑ(πὲρ) ἡμερ(ῶν) β [Φαῶφι ιη καὶ ιθ (γίνονται)  
 ἡμέρ(αι) γ ἡμερησ(ίως) ἀν(νῶναι) κ κάπιτ(α) κ (γίνονται)  
 ἄρτ(ων) ἀν(νῶναι) ξ οἴ(νου) ξ(έεται) ξ κρέως]
- 46 λί(τραι) λ κριθῶ[ν κά]πιτ(α) ξ οἴ μὸδ(ιοι) λ ἀχύρ(ου) [κάπιτ(α) ξ αἰ  
 λί(τραι) Ας.]
- 47 ἀνθρώποις καὶ κτηῆσιν . . . [ ἐν μονῇ Τακόνα ὑ(πὲρ)  
 ἡμέρ(ας) α Φαῶφι]
- 48 κβ καὶ ἐν τῇ π[ό]λ(ει) ὑ(πὲρ) ἡμερ(ῶν) β [Φαῶφι κγ καὶ κδ (γίνονται)  
 ἡμέρ(αι) γ ἡμερησ(ίως) ἀν(νῶναι) κη κάπιτ(α) χ (γίνονται)  
 ἄρτ(ων) ἀν(νῶναι) πδ οἴ(νου) ξ(έεται) πδ]
- 49 κρέως λί(τραι) μβ κ[ρ]ιθῶν κάπιτ(α) [
- 50 ἀνθρώποις κ[αὶ] κτηῆσιν . . . [ ἐν τῇ πόλ(ει) ὑ(πὲρ)  
 ἡμερ(ῶν) β]
- 51 Φαῶφι κβ καὶ κγ Τακ[όνα ὑ(πὲρ) ἡμέρ(ας) α Φαῶφι κδ (γίνονται)  
 ἡμέρ(αι) γ ἡμερησ(ίως) ἀν(νῶναι) ιη κάπιτ(α) χ (γίνονται)  
 ἄρτ(ων) ἀν(νῶναι) νδ]
- 52 οἴ(νου) ξ(έεται) νδ κρέως λί(τραι) κζ . . [
- 53 ἀνθρώποις κ[αὶ κ]τηῆσιν . αλμ. . . . . [ ἐν μονῇ Τακόνα  
 ὑ(πὲρ) ἡμέρ(ας) α Φαῶ—]
- 54 φι κς καὶ ἐ[ν τῇ π[ό]λ(ει)] ὑ[(πὲρ)] ἡμ[ερ(ῶν) β Φαῶφι κς καὶ κη  
 (γίνονται) ἡμέρ(αι) γ ἡμερησ(ίως) ἀν(νῶναι)
- 55 (inset) κ. . [ . . ] . [
- 56 ἀνθρώποις [ ἐν μονῇ Τακόνα ὑ(πὲρ) ἡμέρ(ας)  
 α Φαῶφι]
- 57 κς καὶ ἐν τῇ [πόλ(ει) ὑ(πὲρ) ἡμερ(ῶν) β Φαῶφι κς καὶ κη (γίνονται)  
 ἡμέρ(αι) γ ἡμερησ(ίως) ἀν(νῶναι)
- 58 (inset) . [
- 59 ἀνθρώ[ποις ἐν τῇ πόλ(ει) ὑ(πὲρ) ἡμερ(ῶν) β  
 Φαῶφι] κς
- 60 καὶ κς [καὶ Τακόνα ὑ(πὲρ) ἡμέρ(ας) α Φαῶφι κη (γίνονται) ἡμέρ(αι) γ  
 ἡμερησ(ίως) ἀν(νῶναι)
- 61 (vac.) [

- 62 ἀνθρώποις καὶ κτηῆς[ιν ἐν μονῇ Τακόνα]
- 63 ὑ(πὲρ) ἡμέρ(ας) α Φαῶφι [. . . καὶ ἐν τῇ πόλ(ει) ὑ(πὲρ) ἡμερ(ῶν) β  
Φαῶφι . . . καὶ . . . (γίνονται) ἡμέρ(αι) γ ἡμερῆς(ίως) ἀν(νῶναι)  
λ κάπιτ(α) x]
- 64 (γίνονται) ἄρτ(ων) ἀν(νῶναι) ρ [οἴ(νου) ξ(έσται) ρ κρέως λί(τραι) με  
κριθῶν κάπιτ(α)]
- 65 ἀνθρώποις κα[ὶ κτηῆσιν
- 66 Φαῶφι κη [
- 67 οἴ(νου) ξ(έσται) .[. . .]. [
- 68 ἀνθρώπ[οις
- 69 . [
- . . . . .

(Col. iii)

- 70 ἀ[νθ]ρώποι[ς καὶ κτηῆσιν παλ]ατίου ἀνερχομ(ένοις) [εἰς Θηβαῖδ(α) ἐν  
μονῇ Τακόνα ὑ(πὲρ) ἡμέρ(ας) α Φαῶφι]
- 71 κ[ε κα]ὶ ἐν τ[ῇ πόλ(ει) ὑ(πὲρ) ἡμερ(ῶν)] β Φαῶφι κς καὶ κς  
(γίνονται) ἡμέρ(αι) γ ἡμερῆς(ίως) ἀν(νῶναι) λ [κάπιτ(α) λ  
(γίνονται) ἄρτ(ων) ἀν(νῶναι)]
- 72 ρ οἴ(νου) ξ(έσται) ρ κρέ[ως λί(τραι) με κριθῶν κ]άπιτ(α) ρ οἱ μόδ(ιοι)  
με ἀχύρ(ου) κάπιτ(α) ρ αἱ λί(τραι) [Αω.]
- 73 ἀνθρώπ[οι]ς καὶ [κτηῆσιν 2-3]αγεγους παλατίου ἀνερ[χο]μ(ένοις) ἀπ[ὸ  
up to 5 εἰς Θηβαῖδ(α) ἐν μονῇ Τακόνα]
- 74 ὑ(πὲρ) ἡμέρ(ας) α Φαῶφ[ι . . . καὶ ἐν τῇ] πόλ(ει) ὑ(πὲρ) ἡμερ(ῶν) β  
Φαῶφι κ. καὶ κ. [(γίνονται)] ἡ[μέρ(αι) γ ἡμερῆς(ίως)  
ἀν(νῶναι) κ κάπιτ(α) κ]
- 75 (γίνονται) ἄρτ(ων) ἀν(νῶναι) ξ οἴ(νου) ξ(έσται) ξ [κρέως λί(τραι) λ]  
κριθῶν κάπιτ(α) ξ οἱ μόδ(ιοι) λ ἀχύρ(ου) κά[πιτ(α) ξ αἱ  
λί(τραι) Ας.]
- 76 ἀνθρώποις καὶ κ[τηῆσιν Ἀπο]λλωνίου λαμ(προτάτου) τριβούνου  
κατερ[χομ(ένοις) ἀπὸ Θηβαῖδ(ος) ἐν τῇ πόλ(ει) ὑ(πὲρ)  
ἡμερ(ῶν)]

- 77 β [Φαῶ]φι κε καὶ [κς Τακόν]α ὑ(πέρ) ἡ[μ]έρ(ας) α Φαῶφι κζ  
(γίνονται) ἡμέρ(αι) γ [ἡμερ(η)ς(ίως) ἀν(νῶναι) κδ κάπιτ(α) κδ  
(γίνονται) ἄρτ(ων)]
- 78 (inset) ἀν(νῶναι) οβ οἴ(νου) [ξ(έεται) οβ] κ[ρέως λί(τραι) λς]  
κριθῶν κάπιτ(α) οβ οἴ μόδ(ιοι) λς ἀχύρ(ου) [κάπιτ(α) οβ αἰ  
λί(τραι) Αυμ.]
- 79 (γίνεται) ὁμοῦ τοῦ μηνὸς ἀναλώμ(ατα) ἄρτ[ω]ν ἀν(νῶναι) Αψμθ οἱ  
μόδ(ιοι) ς ϧ ς' οἱ[
- 80 (inset) κρέ[ω]ς λί(τραι) ωοδς' κριθῶν [κά]πιτ(α) Αψκδ οἱ μόδ(ιοι)  
ωξβ οἱ (ἀρτάβαι) ςξ. . " ἀχ[ύρ]ου
- 81 (vac.) [ (vac.?) ] λί(τραι) (μυρ.) γ Αυπ.
- 82 λοιπαὶ εἰς τὸν ἐξῆς λόγον cíτου (ἀρτάβαι) υνςγιβ" οἴ(νου) ξ(έεται) ς. [   
κρέως]
- 83 (inset) λί(τραι) , . . κριθ[ῶν] (ἀρτάβαι) υογκδ" ἀχύρ(ου)  
λί(τραι) (μυρ.) ς Θωδ.
- 84 ἀναλωμάτων ὁμοίως μηνὸς Ἀθὺρ τῆς αὐτῆς . . . . [   
(lower margin of c. 11 cm.)

(Col. iv)

- 85 [ὑπατείας . . . [ ] ἐπάρχων.
- 86 [ἀνθρώποις καὶ κτήσιν c. 9 λ]αμ(προτάτου) λ. . [c. 3 ]ν  
κατερχομ(ένοις) ἀπὸ [Θη]βαῖδ(ος) /
- 87 [ἐν τῇ πόλ(ει) ὑ(πέρ) ἡμερ(ῶν) β Φαῶφι κη καὶ κ]θ καὶ Τακόνα  
[ὑ(πέρ) ἡμέρ(ας)] α Φ[αῶ]φι λ (γίνονται) ἡ[μέ]ρ(αι) γ  
ἡμερ(ησίως)
- 88 [ἀν(νῶναι) κ κάπιτ(α) κ (γίνονται) ἄρτ(ων) ἀν(νῶναι)] ξ οἴ(νου)  
ξ(έεται) ξ κρέως λί(τραι) λ κριθ[ῶν] κάπιτ(α) ξ] οἱ μόδ(ιοι) λ  
ἀ[χύρ(ου)] λ[ί(τραι)] Ας. /
- 89 [ ] κόμιτος κατερχομ(ένοις) ἀπὸ Θηβαῖδ(ος)  
[ἐ]ν [τ]ῇ πόλει
- 90 [ὑ(πέρ) ἡμερ(ῶν) β Φαῶφι κη καὶ κθ καὶ Τακόνα ὑ](πέρ) ἡμέρ(ας) α  
Φαῶφι λ (γίνονται) ἡμέρ(αι) γ ἡμερ[ης](ίως) ἀν(νῶναι) /

- 91 [x κάπιτ(α) κη (γίνονται) ἄρτ(ων) ἀν(νῶναι) x οἴ(νου) ξ(έεται) x  
κρέως λί(τραι) x] κριθῶν κάπιτ(α) πδ οἱ μόδ(ιοι) μβ ἀχύρ(ου)
- 92 [κάπιτ(α) πδ αἱ λί(τραι) Ἀχπ.]
- 93 [ κό]μιτος κατερχομ(ένοις) ἀπὸ  
Θηβαῖδ(ος) ἐν τῇ πόλ(ει)
- 94 [ὑ(πέρ) ἡμερ(ῶν) β Ἀθὺρ α καὶ β καὶ Τακόνα ὑ(πέρ) ἡμέρ(ας)] α Ἀθὺρ  
γ (γίνονται) ἡμέρ(αι) γ' ἡμερ(ας) ἀν(νῶναι) λ κάπιτ(α)
- 95 [λ (γίνονται) ἄρτ(ων) ἀν(νῶναι) ρ οἴ(νου) ξ(έεται) ρ κρέως λί(τραι) με  
κριθῶν κάπ]ιτ(α) ρ οἱ μόδ(ιοι) με ἀχύρ(ου) κ[ά]πιτ(α) ρ αἱ  
λί(τραι) Ἀω.
- 96 [ ἀν[ε]ρχομ(ένοις) εἰς Θηβαῖδ(α) ἐν μονῇ  
Τακόν(α)
- 97 [ὑ(πέρ) ἡμέρ(ας) α Ἀθὺρ α καὶ ἐν τῇ πόλ(ει) ὑ(πέρ) ἡ]μερ(ῶν) β  
Ἀθὺ[ρ] β κ[αὶ] γ (γίνονται) ἡμέρ(αι) γ ἡμερ(ας) ἀν(νῶναι)  
κ κάπιτ(α) κ
- 98 [(γίνονται) ἄρτ(ων) ἀν(νῶναι) ξ οἴ(νου) ξ(έεται) ξ κρέως λί(τραι) λ]  
κριθῶν κάπιτ(α) ξ οἱ μόδ(ιοι) λ ἀχύρ(ου) κάπιτ(α) ξ αἱ  
λί(τραι) Ἀς.
- 99 [ κατερχομ(ένοις) ἀπὸ Θηβαῖδος ἐν τῇ πόλει  
ὑ(πέρ) ἡ-
- 100 [μερ(ῶν) β Ἀθὺρ ε καὶ ς καὶ Τακόνα ὑ(πέρ) ἡμ]έρ(ας) α Ἀθὺρ ζ  
(γίνονται) ἡμέρ(αι) γ [ἡμ]ερ(ας) ἀν(νῶναι) λ κάπιτ(α) λ  
(γίνονται) ἄρτ(ων)
- 101 [ἀν(νῶναι) ρ οἴ(νου) ξ(έεται) ρ κρέως λί(τραι) με κριθῶν κάπιτ(α) ρ  
οἱ μό]δ(ιοι) [με] ἀχύρ(ου) [κάπ]ιτ(α) ρ αἱ λί(τραι) Ἀω.
- 102 [ κατερχομ(ένοις) ἀπ]ὸ [Θ]ηβαῖδ(ος) [ἐ]ν τῇ  
πόλ(ει) ὑ(πέρ) ἡμερ(ῶν) β' Ἀθὺρ ε
- 103 [καὶ ς καὶ Τακόνα ὑ(πέρ) ἡμέρ(ας) α Ἀθὺρ ζ (γίνονται) ἡμέρ(αι) γ  
ἡμερ(ας) ἀν(νῶναι)] λ κάπιτ(α) λ' (γίνονται) ἄρτ(ων)  
ἀν(νῶναι) ρ οἴ(νου)
- 104 [ξ(έεται) ρ κρέως λί(τραι) με κριθῶν κάπιτ(α) ρ οἱ μόδ(ιοι) με]  
ἀχύρ(ου) κάπιτ(α) ρ [α]ἱ λί(τραι) Ἀω.
- 105 [ ] . . . . . μο . . . ἀνερχομ(ένοις) εἰς Θηβαῖδ(α) ἐν  
μονῇ



- 106 [Τακόνα υ(πέρ) ήμέρ(ας) α Αθὺρ ε καὶ ἐν τῇ πόλ(ει) υ(πέρ) ήμερ(ων)  
β Αθὺρ ς καὶ ζ (γίνονται) ήμέρ(αι) γ ήμερ(ης(ίως)
- 107 [ἀν(νῶναι) κδ κάπιτ(α) κδ (γίνονται) ἄρτ(ων) ἀν(νῶναι) οβ οἴ(νου)  
ξ(έεται) οβ] κρέως λί(τραι) λς κριθῶν κάπιτ(α) οβ οἱ μόδ(ιοι)  
λς ἀχύρ(ου)
- 108 (inset) κάπιτ(α) οβ αἱ λί(τραι) Αὐμ.
- 109 [ ] κόμιτος ἀνερχομ(ένοις) εἰς Θηβαῖδ(α) ἐν  
μονῇ Τα—
- 110 [κόνα υ(πέρ) ήμέρ(ας) α Αθὺρ θ καὶ ἐν τῇ πόλ(ει)] υ(πέρ) [ήμ]ερ(ων)  
β Αθὺρ ι καὶ ια (γίνονται) ήμέρ(αι) γ ήμερ(ης(ίως) ἀν(νῶναι)
- 111 [ιε κάπιτ(α) ιε (γίνονται) ἄρτ(ων) ἀν(νῶναι) με οἴ(νου) ξ(έεται) με]  
κρέως λί(τραι) κβς' κριθῶν κάπιτ(α) με οἱ μόδ(ιοι) κβς'  
ἀχύρ(ου)
- 112 (inset) [κά]πιτ(α) με αἱ λί(τραι) λ.
- 113 [ ] κόμ]ιτος κατερχομ(ένοις) ἀπὸ Θηβαῖδ(ος) ἐν τῇ  
πόλ(ει) υ(πέρ) ήμερ(ων)
- 114 [β Αθὺρ θ καὶ ι καὶ Τακόνα υ(πέρ) ήμέρ(ας) α] Αθὺρ ια (γίνονται)  
ήμέρ(αι) γ ήμερ(ης(ίως) ἀν(νῶναι) κδ κάπιτ(α) κδ
- 115 [(γίνονται) ἄρτ(ων) ἀν(νῶναι) οβ οἴ(νου) ξ(έεται) οβ κρέως λί(τραι) λς  
κρ]ιθῶν κάπιτ(α) οβ οἱ μ[όδ(ιοι) λς] ἀχύρ(ου) κάπιτ(α) οβ αἱ  
λί(τραι) Αὐμ.
- 116 [ ] κό]μιτος κατερχομ(ένοις) ἀπὸ Θηβαῖδ(ος) ἐν τῇ  
πόλ(ει) υ(πέρ) ή—
- 117 [μερ(ων) β Αθὺρ θ καὶ ι καὶ Τακόνα υ(πέρ)] ή[μ]έρ(ας) α Αθὺρ ια  
(γίνονται) ήμέρ(αι) γ ήμερ(ης(ίως) ἀν(νῶναι) κη κάπιτ(α)
- 118 [κη (γίνονται) ἄρτ(ων) ἀν(νῶναι) πδ οἴ(νου) ξ(έεται) πδ κρέως  
λί(τραι) μβ κ]ριθῶν κάπιτ(α) πδ οἱ μόδ(ιοι) μβ ἀχύρ(ου)  
λί(τραι) Αχ[π].
- 119 [ ] λαμ(προτάτου) κόμιτος ἀνερχομ(ένοις) ἀπὸ  
Χαλκηδόνης
- 120 [εἰς Θηβαῖδ(α) (?) ἐν μονῇ Τακόνα υ](πέρ) ήμέρ(ας) α Αθὺρ ιβ καὶ ἐν  
τῇ πόλ[(ει)] υ[(πέρ) ή]μερ(ων) β Α[θὺ]ρ
- 121 [ιγ καὶ ιδ (γίνονται) ήμέρ(αι) γ ήμερ(ης(ίως) ἀν(νῶναι)] ιη κάπιτ(α) κ

- (γίνονται) ἄρτ(ων) ἀν(νῶναι) νδ οἴ(νου) ξ(έεται) νδ κρέ[ως]  
λί(τραι)  
122 [κζ κριθῶν κάπιτ(α) ξ οἱ μόδ(ιοι) λ] ἀχύρ(ου) κάπιτ(α) ξ αἱ λί(τραι)  
Ας.

(Col. v)

- 123 /ἀνθρ[ώποις καὶ κτήσιν  
124 .[...].  
125 [  
126 /ἀνθρώποις καὶ κτ[ήσιν κατερχομ(ένοις) ἀπὸ  
Θηβαῖδ(ος) ἐν τῇ πόλ(ει) ὑ(πὲρ) ἡμερ(ῶν) β Ἀθὺρ]  
127 ιβ καὶ ιγ κ[αὶ Τακόνα ὑ(πὲρ) ἡμέρ(ας) α Ἀθὺρ ιδ (γίνονται) ἡμέρ(αι) γ  
ἡμερ(ῆς) ἰως ἀν(νῶναι) κ κάπιτ(α) χ (γίνονται) ἄρτ(ων)  
ἀν(νῶναι) ξ οἴ(νου) ξ(έεται) ξ κρέως]  
128 (inset) λί(τραι) λ κριθῶν [κάπιτ(α)  
129 /ἀνθρώποις καὶ κ[τήσιν ἀνερχομ(ένοις) εἰς Θηβαῖδ(α)  
ἐν μονῇ Τακόνα ὑ(πὲρ) ἡ—]  
130 μέρ(ας) α Ἀθὺρ ιε κ[αὶ ἐν τῇ πόλ(ει) ὑ(πὲρ) ἡμερ(ῶν) β Ἀθὺρ ις καὶ ιζ  
(γίνονται) ἡμέρ(αι) γ ἡμερ(ῆς) ἰως ἀν(νῶναι) κδ κάπιτ(α) χ  
(γίνονται) ἄρτ(ων)]  
131 ἀν(νῶναι) οβ οἴ(νου) ξ(έεται) [ο]β [κρέως λί(τραι) λς κριθῶν κάπιτ(α)  
132 /ἀνθρώποις καὶ κ[τήσιν ἀνερχομ(ένοις) εἰς Θηβαῖδ(α)  
ἐν μονῇ Τα—]  
133 κόνα ὑ(πὲρ) ἡμέρ(ας) α Ἀθὺρ ι. [καὶ ἐν τῇ πόλ(ει) ὑ(πὲρ) ἡμερ(ῶν) β  
Ἀθὺρ χ καὶ χ (γίνονται) ἡμέρ(αι) γ ἡμερ(ῆς) ἰως ἀν(νῶναι) λ  
κάπιτ(α) χ]  
134 (γίνονται) ἄρτ(ων) ἀν(νῶναι) ρ οἴ(νου) [ξ(έεται) ρ κρέως λί(τραι) με  
κριθῶν κάπιτ(α)  
135 /ἀνθρώποις κα[ὶ] κ[τήσιν ἀνερχομ(ένοις) εἰς Θηβαῖδ(α)  
ἐν μονῇ Τακόνα ὑ(πὲρ) ἡ—]  
136 μέρ(ας) α Ἀθὺρ ι. καὶ ἐν [τῇ] πόλ(ει) ὑ(πὲρ) ἡμερ(ῶν) β Ἀθὺρ χ καὶ  
χ (γίνονται) ἡμέρ(αι) γ ἡμερ(ῆς) ἰως ἀν(νῶναι) κη κάπιτ(α) χ]

- 137 (γίνονται) ἄρτ(ων) ἀν(νῶναι) πδ οἴ(νου) [ξ(έσται) πδ κρέως λί(τραι) μβ  
κριθῶν κάπιτ(α)
- 138 /ἀνθρ[ώ]ποι[ς καὶ κτη̃σιν  
139 . [ (γίνονται) ἄρτ(ων)  
140 ἀν(νῶναι) . [
- 141 /ἀνθρώποις καὶ κ[τη̃σιν κατερχομ(ένοις) ἀπὸ  
Θηβαῖδ(ος) ἐν τῇ πόλ(ει) ὑ(πέρ) ἡμερ(ῶν) β Ἀθὺρ]  
142 ις καὶ ιζ κ[αὶ Τακόνα ὑ(πέρ) ἡμέρ(ας) α Ἀθὺρ ιη (γίνονται) ἡμέρ(αι) γ  
ἡμερ(ῆς) ἰως ἀν(νῶναι) κδ κάπιτ(α) χ (γίνονται) ἄρτ(ων)  
ἀν(νῶναι) οβ οἴ(νου)]  
143 ξ(έσται) οβ κρέ[ως λί(τραι) λς κριθῶν κάπιτ(α)
- 144 /ἀνθρ[ώ]ποις  
145 . [
- 146 /ἀ[νθρώποις καὶ κτη̃σιν  
147 . . . . [ . ] . [ . ]  
148 [
- 149 /ἀνθρώ[ποις καὶ κτη̃σιν κατερχομ(ένοις) ἀπὸ  
Θηβαῖδ(ος) ἐν τῇ πόλ(ει) ὑ(πέρ) ἡ—]  
150 μερ(ῶν) β [Ἀθὺρ χ καὶ χ καὶ Τακόνα ὑ(πέρ) ἡμέρ(ας) α Ἀθὺρ χ  
(γίνονται) ἡμέρ(αι) γ ἡμερ(ῆς) ἰως ἀν(νῶναι) κ(?) κάπιτ(α) χ  
(γίνονται) ἄρτ(ων)]  
151 ἀν(νῶναι) ξ . [ . ] . [ . ] . [ . ]
- 152 /ἀνθρώπ[οις καὶ κτη̃σιν  
153 . . [ . ]  
154 [(γίνονται)] ἄρτ[(ων)] ἀν[(νῶναι)]  
155 /ἀ[νθρώποις καὶ κτη̃σιν  
. . . . .

(Probably one complete column lost (= col. vi) with the rest of the accounts for Hathyr, and another complete column (col. vii) with the accounts for the first few days of Choeac.)

(Col. viii)

- 156 [ ]ος ἀνερχομ(ένους) εἰς [ ] . [ . . . ] .  
 157 [ ] Χοιὰκ . καὶ . [(γίνονται)] ἡμέρ(αι) γ  
 ἡμερη(ίως) ἀν(νῶναι) .  
 158 [ ] οἱ μ]όδ(ιοι) [ . . ἀ]χύρ(ου) κά[π]ιτ(α) . . . . .  
 159 [ ] . [ . ] . . . . . κατερχομ[(ένους)] ἀπὸ  
 Θηβαῖδ(ος) ἐν τῇ πόλει  
 160 [ὕ(πέρ) ἡμερ(ῶν) β Χοιὰκ ζ καὶ η καὶ Τα]κόνα [ὕ(πέρ) ἡμ]έρ(ας) α  
 Χοιὰκ θ {ὕ(πέρ) ἡμέρ(ας) α Χοιὰκ θ} [(γίνονται)] ἡμέρ(αι) γ  
 ἡμερ[η(ίως) ἀ]ν(νῶναι) κη  
 161 [(inset) κάπιτ(α) κη (γίνονται) ἄρτ(ων) ἀν(νῶναι) πδ οἴ(νου)]  
 ξ(έσται) πδ κρέως λί(τραι) μβ κριθῶν [κά]πιτ(α) [[μβ]] 'πδ' οἱ  
 μόδ(ιοι) μβ ἀχύρ(ου) λί(τραι) Αχ[π.]  
 162 [ ] . . . . . παλατίνου κατερχομ(ένους) ἀπὸ  
 Θηβαῖδ(ος) ἐν τῇ πόλ[λ](ει) ὕ[(πέρ)] ἡ—  
 163 [μερ(ῶν) β Χοιὰκ ζ καὶ η καὶ Τακόνα ὕ(πέρ) ἡ]μέρ(ας) α Χοιὰκ θ  
 (γίνονται) ἡμέρ(αι) γ ἡμερη(ίως) ἀν(νῶναι) κ κάπιτ(α) κδ  
 (γίνονται) ἄρτ[(ων) ἀν(νῶναι)] ξ  
 164 [οἴ(νου) ξ(έσται) ξ κρέως λί(τραι) λ κριθῶν κάπιτ(α) ο]β οἱ μόδ(ιοι) λς  
 ἀχύρ(ου) κάπιτ(α) οβ αἱ λί(τραι) Αμ.  
 165 [ ] ἀν]ερχομ(ένους) εἰς Θηβαῖδ(α) ἐν μονῇ  
 Τακόνα ὕ(πέρ) ἡμέρ(ας) α Χ[ο]ιὰκ . [ ]  
 166 [καὶ ἐν τῇ πόλ(ει) ὕ(πέρ) ἡμερ(ῶν) β Χοιὰκ . ] . [κ]α[ι] . (γίνονται)  
 ἡμέρ(αι) γ ἡμερη(ίως) ἀν(νῶναι) ιη κάπιτ(α) ιη (γίνονται)  
 ἄρτ(ων) ἀν(νῶναι) ν[δ]  
 167 [οἴ(νου) ξ(έσται) νδ κρέως λί(τραι) κζ κριθῶν κάπ]ιτ(α) νδ [οἱ  
 μό]δ(ιοι) κζ ἀχύρ[ο]ν κάπιτ(α) νδ αἱ λί(τραι) Απ.  
 168 [ ] . . . [ . . . ] . . . κόμιτος κατερχομ(ένους) ἀπὸ  
 Θηβα[ι]δ[ι]δ(ος) ἐ]ν  
 169 [τῇ πόλ(ει) ὕ(πέρ) ἡμερ(ῶν) β Χοιὰκ ια καὶ ιβ καὶ Τακόνα] ὕ(πέρ)  
 ἡμέρ(ας) α Χοιὰκ ιγ (γίνονται) ἡμέρ(αι) γ ἡμερη(ίως)  
 ἀν(νῶναι) νβ'  
 170 (inset) (γίνονται) ἄρτ(ων) ἀν(νῶναι) ρνς οἴ(νου) ξ(έσται) ρνς κρέως  
 λί(τραι) οη'.

- 171 [ ] κόμιτος κατερχομ(ένοις) ἀπὸ Θηβαῖδ(ος)  
 ἐν τῇ πόλ(ει) ὑ(πέρ) ἡμ[ερ(ῶν)]
- 172 [β Χοιὰκ ια καὶ ιβ καὶ Τακόνα ὑ(πέρ) ἡμέρ(ας)] α Χοιὰκ ιγ (γίνονται)  
 ἡμέρ(αι) γ ἡμερησ(ίως) ἀν(νῶναι) ιη κάπιτ(α) ς (γίνονται)  
 [ᾠ]ρ[τ(ων)]
- 173 [ἀν(νῶναι) νδ οἴ(νου) ξ(έσται) νδ κρέως λί(τραι) κζ κριθῶν κάπ]ιτ(α) ξ  
 οἱ μὸδ(ιοι) λ ἀχύρ(ου) κάπιτ(α) ξ αἱ λί(τραι) ςAc.
- 174 [ἀνθρώποις καὶ κτήσιν c. 3 ] . . . . . [ ] τριβούργου κατερχομ(ένοις) ἀπ[ὸ]  
 Θηβαῖδ(ος) ἐν τῇ πόλ(ει) ὑ(πέρ)
- 175 [ἡμερ(ῶν) β Χοιὰκ ιγ καὶ ιδ καὶ Τακό]να ὑ[(πέρ)] ἡμέρ(ας) α X[o]ιὰκ ιε  
 (γίνονται) ἡμέρ(αι) γ ἡμερησ(ίως) ἀν(νῶναι) ιε κάπ[ιτ(α)] ιε
- 176 [(γίνονται) ἄρτ(ων) ἀν(νῶναι) με οἴ(νου) ξ(έσται) με κρέως  
 λί(τραι) κβς κριθῶν κάπιτ(α) με οἱ μ]ὸδ[(ιοι) κβς] ἀχύρ(ου)  
 κάπιτ(α) με αἱ λί(τραι) ςλ.
- 177 [ ] . . . . . ιου λαμ(προτάτου) τριβο[ύ]ργου  
 ἀνερχομ(ένοις) εἰς Θηβαῖδ(α) ἐν μονῇ [T]α–
- 178 [κόνα ὑ(πέρ) ἡμέρ(ας) α Χοιὰκ ιγ κ]αὶ ἐν τῇ πόλ(ει) ὑ[(πέρ)] ἡμερ(ῶν)  
 β Χοιὰκ ιδ καὶ ιε (γίνονται) ἡμέρ(αι) γ ἡμ[ερησ(ίως)]
- 179 [ἀν(νῶναι) κ κάπιτ(α) κ (γίνονται) ἄρτ(ων) ἀν(νῶναι) ξ οἴ(νου)  
 ξ(έσται) ξ κρέως λί(τραι) λ] κριθῶν κάπιτ(α) ξ οἱ μὸδ(ιοι) λ  
 ἀχύρ(ου) λί(τραι) ςAc.]
- 180 [ ] . . . . . [ ] κατερχομ(ένοις) ἀπὸ  
 Θηβαῖδ(ος) ἐν τῇ πόλ(ει) ὑ(πέρ) ἡμερ(ῶν) β Χοιὰκ[κ] ι[ε]
- 181 [καὶ ις καὶ Τακόνα] ὑ(πέρ) ἡμέρ(ας) α Χοιὰκ ις' (γίνονται) ἡμέρ(αι) γ  
 ἡμερησ(ίως) ἀν(νῶναι) κδ κάπιτ(α) κδ (γίνονται) ἄρτ(ων)  
 ἀν(νῶναι) [οβ]'
- 182 [οἴ(νου) ξ(έσται) οβ κρέως λί(τραι) λς κριθῶν] κάπιτ(α) οβ [ο]ί  
 μὸδ(ιοι) λς ἀχύρ(ου) κάπιτ(α) οβ αἱ λί(τραι) ςAvμ.
- 183 [ἀνθρώποις καὶ κτήσιν ?Διο]γυσιώνος λαμ(προτάτου) κόμιτος  
 κατερχομ(ένοις) ἀπὸ Θηβα[ῖ]δ(ος) [ε]ν
- 184 [τῇ πόλ(ει) ὑ(πέρ) ἡμερ(ῶν) β] X[o]ιὰκ ιε καὶ ις Τακόνα ὑ(πέρ)  
 ἡμέρ(ας) α Χοιὰκ ις (γίνονται) ἡμέρ(αι) γ ἡμερησ(ίως)
- 185 [ἀν(νῶναι) ις κάπιτ(α) ις (γίνονται) ἄρτ(ων)] ἀν(νῶναι) μη οἴ(νου)



ξ(έσται) μη κρέως λί(τραι) κδ κριθῶν κάπιτ(α) μη οἱ μόδ[(ιοι)  
κδ ἀχύρ(ου) λί(τραι) ᾱξ.]

- 186 [ . . . ργητί[ο]υ τριβ[ο]ύνου ἀνερχομ(ένοισ) εἰς  
Θηβαῖδ(α) ἐν [μονῇ Τα—]  
187 [κόνα ὕ(πέρ) ἡμέρ(ας) α Χοιὰκ ιε καὶ εἶ]ν [τ]ῇ πό[λ(ει)] ὕ(πέρ) ἡμερ(ῶν)  
β Χοιὰκ ις καὶ ιζ (γίνονται) ἡμ[έρ](αι) [γ ἡμερησ(ίως)]  
188 [ἀν(ῶναι) x κάπιτ(α) x (γίνονται) ἄρτ(ων) ἀν(ῶναι) x οἷ(νου) ξ(έσται)  
x κρέως λί(τραι) x] κριθῶν κ[άπιτ(α)] . . οἱ μόδ(ιοι) .[

3 / ἡμερ/ (ρ cut by diagonal), ἡμερησ(αν') ('The form of the abbreviation mark in this (αν') and similar abbreviations varies from a dot to a stroke.) 4 καπι<sup>τ</sup> (but frequently elsewhere καπιτ), ἀχυρ/ (ρ cut by diagonal), λ 5 κατερχομς', θηβαῖδ', υ' 6 αρτ', οἷ' (tall iota cut by horizontal stroke)  
7 ς 8 πόλ' 11 πραι' (see n.) 1. κουβίκλου 13 ἀχυρ' So in 99, 174. The form shown for line 4 is regular 24 ξ/ (ξ cut by diagonal) 70 ἀνερχομς' 72 μοδ' 76 λαμς So in 86, 120, 178 79 ἀναλωμ' 80 1. αἰ (ἀρτάβαι); α<sup>σ</sup> (so in 82, 83) 87 ἡμερ(ησίως) written ἡμερ/ (ρ cut by diagonal) 94 ἀθυρ' So in 106, 110 95 ἀχυρ simply; so in 104, 122, 164, 182  
96 τακον' 183 λαμς' 185 καπιτ'

(Col. i)

'In the consulship of . . . , *praefecti*.

'To . . . the Thebaid, in the *mansio* at Tacona for 1 day, Thoth 30, and in the city for 2 days, Phaophi 1 and 2, total 3 days: daily, 4 *annonae* and 4 *capita*. Total: bread, 12 *annonae*; wine, 12 *sextarii*; meat, 6 *litrai*; barley, 12 *capita*, = 6 *modii*; chaff, 12 *capita*, = 240 *litrai*.

'To . . . travelling down from the Thebaid, in the city for 2 days, Phaophi x and x, and Tacona for 1 day, Phaophi x, total 3 days: daily, 15 *annonae*. Total: bread, 45 *annonae*; wine, 45 *sextarii*; meat, 22½ *litrai*.

'To . . . travelling down from the Thebaid, in the city for 2 days, Phaophi x and x, and Tacona for 1 day, Phaophi x, total 3 days: daily, 24 *annonae* and 24 *capita*. Total: bread, 72 *annonae*; wine, 72 *sextarii*; meat, 36 *litrai*; barley, 72 *capita*, = 36 *modii*; chaff, 72 *capita*, = 1440 *litrai*.

'To . . . of . . . , *praepositus sacri cubiculi*, travelling down from the Thebaid, in the city for 2 days, Phaophi 2 and 3, and Tacona for 1 day, Phaophi 4, total 3 days: daily, 20 *annonae* and 20 *capita*. Total: bread, 60 *annonae*; wine, 60 *sextarii*; meat, 30 *litrai*; barley, 60 *capita*, = 30 *modii*; chaff, 60 *capita*, = 1200 *litrai*.

'To . . . of . . . , *comes*, travelling down from the Thebaid, in the city for 2 days, Phaophi x and x, and Tacona for 1 day, Phaophi x, total 3 days: daily, 30 *annonae* and 30 *capita*. Total: bread, 90 *annonae*; wine, 90 *sextarii*; meat, 45 *litrai*; barley, 90 *capita*, = 45 *modii*; chaff, 90 *capita*, = 1800 *litrai*.

'To ... travelling down from the Thebaid, in the city for 2 days, Phaophi x and x, and Tacona for 1 day, Phaophi x, total 3 days: daily, 28 *annonae* and 30 *capita*. Total: bread, 84 *annonae*; wine, 84 *sextarii*; meat, 42 *litrai*; barley, 90 *capita*, = 45 *modii*; chaff, 90 *capita*, = 1800 *litrai*.

'To ... of ..., tribune, travelling down from the Thebaid, in the city for 2 days, Phaophi x and x, and Tacona for 1 day, Phaophi x, total 3 days: daily, 28 *annonae* and 30 *capita*. Total: bread, 84 *annonae*; wine, 84 *sextarii*; meat, 42 *litrai*; barley, 90 *capita*, = 45 *modii*; chaff, 90 *capita*, = 1800 *litrai*.

'To ... travelling down from the Thebaid, in the city for 2 days, Phaophi x and x, and Tacona for 1 day, Phaophi x, total 3 days: daily, 20 *annonae* and 24 *capita*. Total: bread, 60 *annonae*; wine, 60 *sextarii*; meat, 30 *litrai*; barley, 72 *capita*, = 36 *modii*; chaff, 72 *capita*, = 1440 *litrai*.

'To ... travelling down from the Thebaid, in the city for 2 days, Phaophi x and x, and Tacona for 1 day, Phaophi x, total 3 days: daily, 24 *annonae* and 24 *capita*. Total: bread, 72 *annonae*; wine, 72 *sextarii*; meat, 36 *litrai*; barley, 72 *capita*, = 36 *modii*; chaff, 72 *capita*, = 1440 *litrai*.

'To ... travelling down from the Thebaid, in the city for 2 days, Phaophi x and x, and Tacona for 1 day, Phaophi x, total 3 days: daily, 20 *annonae* and 20 *capita*. Total: bread, 60 *annonae*; wine, 60 *sextarii*; meat, 30 *litrai*; barley, 60 *capita*, = 30 *modii*; chaff, 60 *capita*, = 1200 *litrai*.

'To ... travelling down from the Thebaid, in the city for 2 days, Phaophi x and x, and Tacona for 1 day, Phaophi x, total 3 days: daily, 20 *annonae* and 20 *capita*. Total: bread, 60 *annonae*; wine, 60 *sextarii*; meat, 30 *litrai*; barley, 60 *capita*, = 30 *modii*; chaff, 60 *capita*, = 1200 *litrai*.'

(Col. ii)

(Lines 41–64) 'To men and beasts ... travelling down from the Thebaid, in the city for 2 days, Phaophi 1. and 1., and Tacona for 1 day, Phaophi 1., total 3 days: daily, 24 *annonae* and x *capita*. Total: bread, 72 *annonae*; wine, 72 *sextarii*; meat, 36 *litrai*; barley, ...

'To men and beasts of Geminius ... in the *mansio* at Tacona for 1 day, Phaophi 17, and in the city for 2 days, Phaophi 18 and 19, total 3 days: daily, 20 *annonae* and 20 *capita*. Total: bread, 60 *annonae*; wine, 60 *sextarii*; meat, 30 *litrai*; barley, 60 *capita*, = 30 *modii*; chaff, 60 *capita*, = 1200 *litrai*.

'To men and beasts ... in the *mansio* at Tacona for 1 day, Phaophi 22, and in the city for 2 days, Phaophi 23 and 24, total 3 days: daily, 28 *annonae* and x *capita*. Total: bread, 84 *annonae*; wine, 84 *sextarii*; meat, 42 *litrai*; barley, x *capita* ...

'To men and beasts ... in the city for 2 days, Phaophi 22 and 23, Tacona for 1 day, Phaophi 24, total 3 days: daily, 18 *annonae* and x *capita*. Total: bread, 54 *annonae*; wine, 54 *sextarii*; meat, 27 *litrai*; ...

'To men and beasts ... in the *mansio* at Tacona for 1 day, Phaophi 26, and in the city for 2 days, Phaophi 27 and 28, total 3 days: daily, x *annonae* ...

'To men ... in the *mansio* at Tacona for 1 day, Phaophi 26, and in the city for 2 days, Phaophi 27 and 28, total 3 days: daily, x *annonae* ...

'To men ... in the city for 2 days, Phaophi 26 and 27, and Tacona for 1 day, Phaophi 28, total 3 days: daily, x *annonae* ...

'To men and beasts ... in the *mansio* at Tacona for 1 day, Phaophi x, and in the city for 2 days, Phaophi x and x, total 3 days: daily, 30 *annonae* and x *capita*. Total: bread, 90 *annonae*; wine, 90 *sextarii*; meat, 45 *litrai*; barley, x *capita* ...'

(Col. iii)

'To men and beasts of a palatine official, travelling up to the Thebaid, in the *mansio* at Tacona for 1 day, Phaophi 25, and in the city for 2 days, Phaophi 26 and 27, total 3 days: daily, 30 *annonae* and 30 *capita*. Total: bread, 90 *annonae*; wine, 90 *sextarii*; meat, 45 *litrai*; barley, 90 *capita*, = 45 *modii*; chaff, 90 *capita*, = 1800 *litrai*.

'To men and beasts of ... agenes, palatine official, travelling up from ... to the Thebaid, in the *mansio* at Tacona for 1 day, Phaophi x, and in the city for 2 days, Phaophi 2. and 2., total 3 days: daily, 20 *annonae* and 20 *capita*. Total: bread, 60 *annonae*; wine, 60 *sextarii*; meat, 30 *litrai*; barley, 60 *capita*, = 30 *modii*; chaff, 60 *capita*, = 1200 *litrai*.

'To men and beasts of Apollonius, *vir clarissimus*, tribune, travelling down from the Thebaid, in the city for 2 days, Phaophi 25 and 26, Tacona for 1 day, Phaophi 27, total 3 days: daily, 24 *annonae* and 24 *capita*. Total: bread, 72 *annonae*; wine, 72 *sextarii*; meat, 36 *litrai*; barley, 72 *capita*, = 36 *modii*; chaff, 72 *capita*, = 1440 *litrai*.

'Combined total of expenses for the month: bread, 1749 *annonae*, = 291½ *modii*, ... meat, 874½ *litrai*; barley, 1724 *capita*, = 862 *modii*, = 260 + artabas; chaff, ..., = 34,480 *litrai*.

'Carried forward to the next account: wheat, 456 11/12 artabas; wine, 6000 + *sextarii*; meat, xxxx *litrai*; barley, 473 1/24 artabas; chaff, 69,804 *litrai*.

'Expenses likewise for the month of Hathyr of the same ...'

(Col. iv)

'In the consulship of ..., *praefecti*.

'To men and beasts of ..., *vir clarissimus*, ..., travelling down from the Thebaid, in the city for 2 days, Phaophi 28 and 29, and Tacona for 1 day, Phaophi 30, total 3 days: daily, 20 *annonae* and 20 *capita*. Total: bread, 60 *annonae*; wine, 60 *sextarii*; meat, 30 *litrai*; barley, 60 *capita*, = 30 *modii*; chaff, 60 *capita*, = 1200 *litrai*.

'To ... of ..., *comes*, travelling down from the Thebaid, in the city for 2 days, Phaophi 28 and 29, and Tacona for 1 day, Phaophi 30, total 3 days: daily, x *annonae* and 28 *capita*. Total: bread, x *annonae*; wine, x *sextarii*; meat, x *litrai*; barley, 84 *capita*, = 42 *modii*; chaff, 84 *capita*, = 1680 *litrai*.



'To ... of ..., *comes*, travelling down from the Thebaid, in the city for 2 days, Hathyr 1 and 2, and Tacona for 1 day, Hathyr 3, total 3 days: daily, 30 *annonae* and 30 *capita*. Total: bread, 90 *annonae*; wine, 90 *sextarii*; meat, 45 *litrai*; barley, 90 *capita*, = 45 *modii*; chaff, 90 *capita*, = 1800 *litrai*.

'To ..., travelling up to the Thebaid, in the *mansio* at Tacona for 1 day, Hathyr 1, and in the city for 2 days, Hathyr 2 and 3, total 3 days: daily, 20 *annonae* and 20 *capita*. Total: bread, 60 *annonae*; wine, 60 *sextarii*; meat, 30 *litrai*; barley, 60 *capita*, = 30 *modii*; chaff, 60 *capita*, = 1200 *litrai*.

'To ..., travelling down from the Thebaid, in the city for 2 days, Hathyr 5 and 6, and Tacona for 1 day, Hathyr 7, total 3 days: daily, 30 *annonae* and 30 *capita*. Total: bread, 90 *annonae*; wine, 90 *sextarii*; meat, 45 *litrai*; barley, 90 *capita*, = 45 *modii*; chaff, 90 *capita*, = 1800 *litrai*.

'To ..., travelling down from the Thebaid, in the city for 2 days, Hathyr 5 and 6, and Tacona for 1 day, Hathyr 7, total 3 days: daily, 30 *annonae* and 30 *capita*. Total: bread, 90 *annonae*; wine, 90 *sextarii*; meat, 45 *litrai*; barley, 90 *capita*, = 45 *modii*; chaff, 90 *capita*, = 1800 *litrai*.

'To ..., travelling up to the Thebaid, in the *mansio* at Tacona for 1 day, Hathyr 5, and in the city for 2 days, Hathyr 6 and 7, total 3 days: daily, 24 *annonae* and 24 *capita*. Total: bread, 72 *annonae*; wine, 72 *sextarii*; meat, 36 *litrai*; barley, 72 *capita*, = 36 *modii*; chaff, 72 *capita*, = 1440 *litrai*.

'To ... of ..., *comes*, travelling up to the Thebaid, in the *mansio* at Tacona for 1 day, Hathyr 9, and in the city for 2 days, Hathyr 10 and 11, total 3 days: daily, 15 *annonae* and 15 *capita*. Total: bread, 45 *annonae*; wine, 45 *sextarii*; meat, 22½ *litrai*; barley, 45 *capita*, = 22½ *modii*; chaff, 45 *capita*, = 900 *litrai*.

'To ... of ..., *comes*, travelling down from the Thebaid, in the city for 2 days, Hathyr 9 and 10, and Tacona for 1 day, Hathyr 11, total 3 days: daily, 24 *annonae* and 24 *capita*. Total: bread, 72 *annonae*; wine, 72 *sextarii*; meat, 36 *litrai*; barley, 72 *capita*, = 36 *modii*; chaff, 72 *capita*, = 1440 *litrai*.

'To ... of ..., *comes*, travelling down from the Thebaid, in the city for 2 days, Hathyr 9 and 10, and Tacona for 1 day, Hathyr 11, total 3 days: daily, 28 *annonae* and 28 *capita*. Total: bread, 84 *annonae*; wine, 84 *sextarii*; meat, 42 *litrai*; barley, 84 *capita*, = 42 *modii*; chaff, 1680 *litrai*.

'To ... of ..., *vir clarissimus*, *comes*, travelling up from Chalcedon to the Thebaid, in the *mansio* at Tacona for 1 day, Hathyr 12, and in the city for 2 days, Hathyr 13 and 14, total 3 days: daily, 18 *annonae* and 20 *capita*. Total: bread, 54 *annonae*; wine, 54 *sextarii*; meat, 27 *litrai*; barley, 60 *capita*, = 30 *modii*; chaff, 60 *capita*, = 1200 *litrai*.'

(Col. v)

(Lines 126–137) 'To men and beasts ... travelling down from the Thebaid, in the city for 2 days, Hathyr 12 and 13, and Tacona for 1 day, Hathyr 14, total 3 days:

daily, 20 *annonae* and x *capita*. Total: bread, 60 *annonae*; wine, 60 *sextarii*; meat, 30 *litrai*; barley, x *capita* ...

'To men and beasts ... travelling up to the Thebaid, in the *mansio* at Tacona for 1 day, Hathyr 1., and in the city for 2 days, Hathyr x and x, total 3 days: daily, 30 *annonae* and x *capita*. Total: bread, 90 *annonae*; wine, 90 *sextarii*; meat, 45 *litrai*; barley, x *capita* ...

'To men and beasts ... travelling up to the Thebaid, in the *mansio* at Tacona for 1 day, Hathyr 1., and in the city for 2 days, Hathyr x and x, total 3 days: daily, 28 *annonae* and x *capita*. Total: bread, 84 *annonae*; wine, 84 *sextarii*; meat, 42 *litrai*; barley, x *capita* ...'

(Lines 141-143) 'To men and beasts ... travelling down from the Thebaid, in the city for 2 days, Hathyr 16 and 17, and Tacona for 1 day, Hathyr 18, total 3 days: daily, 24 *annonae* and x *capita*. Total: bread, 72 *annonae*; wine, 72 *sextarii*; meat, 36 *litrai*; barley, x *capita* ...'

(Lines 149-151) 'To men and beasts ... travelling down from the Thebaid, in the city for 2 days, Hathyr x and x, and Tacona for 1 day, Hathyr x, total 3 days: daily, 20(?) *annonae* and x *capita*. Total: bread, 60(+?) *annonae* ...'

(Col. viii)

(Lines 159 ff.) 'To ..., travelling down from the Thebaid, in the city for two days, Choeac 7 and 8, and Tacona for 1 day, Choeac 9, total 3 days: daily, 28 *annonae* and 28 *capita*. Total: bread, 84 *annonae*; wine, 84 *sextarii*; meat, 42 *litrai*; barley, 84 *capita*, = 42 *modii*; chaff, 1680 *litrai*.

'To ... of ..., palatine official, travelling down from the Thebaid, in the city for 2 days, Choeac 7 and 8, and Tacona for 1 day, Choeac 9, total 3 days: daily, 20 *annonae* and 24 *capita*. Total: bread, 60 *annonae*; wine, 60 *sextarii*; meat, 30 *litrai*; barley, 72 *capita*, = 36 *modii*; chaff, 72 *capita*, = 1440 *litrai*.

'To ... travelling up to the Thebaid, in the *mansio* at Tacona for 1 day, Choeac x, and in the city for 2 days, Choeac x and 1., total 3 days: daily, 18 *annonae* and 18 *capita*. Total: bread, 54 *annonae*; wine, 54 *sextarii*; meat, 27 *litrai*; barley, 54 *capita*, = 27 *modii*; chaff, 54 *capita*, = 1080 *litrai*.

'To ... of ..., comes, travelling down from the Thebaid, in the city for 2 days, Choeac 11 and 12, and Tacona for 1 day, Choeac 13, total 3 days: daily, 52 *annonae*. Total: bread, 156 *annonae*; wine, 156 *sextarii*; meat, 78 *litrai*.

'To ... of ..., comes, travelling down from the Thebaid, in the city for 2 days, Choeac 11 and 12, and Tacona for 1 day, Choeac 13, total 3 days: daily, 18 *annonae* and 20 *capita*. Total: bread, 54 *annonae*; wine, 54 *sextarii*; meat, 27 *litrai*; barley, 60 *capita*, = 30 *modii*; chaff, 60 *capita*, = 1200 *litrai*.

'To men and beasts of ..., tribune, travelling down from the Thebaid, in the city for 2 days, Choeac 13 and 14, and Tacona for 1 day, Choeac 15, total 3 days: daily,



15 *annonae* and 15 *capita*. Total: bread, 45 *annonae*; wine, 45 *sextarii*; meat, 22½ *litrai*; barley, 45 *capita*, = 22½ *modii*; chaff, 45 *capita*, = 900 *litrai*.

'To ... of -ius, *vir clarissimus*, tribune, travelling up to the Thebaid, in the *mansio* at Tacona for 1 day, Choeac 13, and in the city for 2 days, Choeac 14 and 15, total 3 days: daily, 20 *annonae* and 20 *capita*. Total: bread, 60 *annonae*; wine, 60 *sextarii*; meat, 30 *litrai*; barley, 60 *capita*, = 30 *modii*; chaff, 1200 *litrai*.

'To ... travelling down from the Thebaid, in the city for 2 days, Choeac 15 and 16, and Tacona for 1 day, Choeac 17, total 3 days: daily, 24 *annonae* and 24 *capita*. Total: bread, 72 *annonae*; wine, 72 *sextarii*; meat, 36 *litrai*; barley, 72 *capita*, = 36 *modii*; chaff, 72 *capita*, = 1440 *litrai*.

'To men and beasts of Dionysion (?), *vir clarissimus*, comes, travelling down from the Thebaid, in the city for 2 days, Choeac 15 and 16, Tacona for 1 day, Choeac 17, total 3 days: daily, 16 *annonae* and 16 *capita*. Total: bread, 48 *annonae*; wine, 48 *sextarii*; meat, 24 *litrai*; barley, 48 *capita*, = 24 *modii*; chaff, 960 *litrai*.

'To ... of -rgetius, tribune, travelling up to the Thebaid, in the *mansio* at Tacona for 1 day, Choeac 15, and in the city for 2 days, Choeac 16 and 17, total 3 days: daily, x *annonae* and x *capita*. Total: bread, x *annonae*; wine, x *sextarii*; meat, x *litrai*; barley, x *capita*, = x *modii* ...'

1 ].[.]. . . ἐπάρχων. The years with a consular formula which can end ἐπάρχων in the first half of the fourth century are only 310, 327 and 331. We may discount the possibility of a post-consulate, at this late stage of the year. In a post-consular formula in 345 (P. Abinn. 59), ἐπάρχων is attributed to the consular titlature of 344, erroneously; no example actually from 344 has been found. See R. S. Bagnall and K. A. Worp, *Chronological Systems of Byzantine Egypt* 106 ff.

The same consular formula recurs at the beginning of the entries for the following month Hathyr, line 85, but even less of the formula survives there.

2 Letters before τῆς are troublesome. It may be possible to read νομόν, i.e. a more precise destination than the routine εἰς Θηβαῖδα (cf. e.g. 96 and elsewhere) but this does leave very little room for the description of the travelling party. It could be possible to read ἀπό immediately before τῆς, but a) preceding that I cannot discern the end of required κατερχομῶς, and b) the direction of travel would be wrong, since the first stop is made in Tacona: i.e. the direction of travel should be southwards.

Tacona. For general references see the introd. to **4087-8** above. It lay in the lower toparchy; it has not yet been discovered to which pagus it belonged. It may have been located at Kôm-el-Ahmar, west of the Bahr Yussuf near Muzûra and at the edge of the desert. For further discussion see *RE* IVA 1998; S. Timm, *Das christlich-koptische Ägypten* II 558-60; J. Krüger, *Oxyrhynchos in der Kaiserzeit* 302.

2-3 The first stop, in Tacona, will have fallen on Thoth 30. This might have been expected to feature in the previous month's accounts, but contrast the accounts for Hathyr (85 ff.) which start with two entries totally Phaophi, after the summary for that month in 79-83.

4 A few scanty ink traces survive before ἀχύρ(ου) which it is hard to assign to particular letters. For the supply and uses of ἀχύρον see B. Verbeeck-G. Wagner, *ZPE* 81 (1990) 281-2.

6 Τακόνα. ἐν μονῇ Τακόνα is the normal wording when the Tacona *mansio* is mentioned first, cf. 2 and elsewhere. When, as here, Tacona was mentioned after the city, the evidence is less well preserved but 51 and 184 clearly have Τακόνα only while in 87 (and 127 and 142?) we find καὶ Τακόνα. Arbitrarily we supplement the latter form, unless other factors indicate otherwise, for example the space in 77.

10 Ἀμ. For this method of marking the thousands—figure cf. CPR X 107.6, 8 (AD 364), with the comment of J. D. Thomas, *CR* N.S. 38 (1988) 126. Contrast **4088** 62.

11 πραι(οσίτου) (cf. app. crit.). The ductus is not quite clear; it looks as if there may have been an attempt first to abbreviate the word after πρ. For the office see A. H. M. Jones, *LRE* I esp. 567-70; *PLRE* I 1067-8 for list.

A famous eunuch called Eusebius seems to have held the post of *praepositus sacri cubiculi* for the whole of the reign of Constantius II, 337–361, and was often sent on diplomatic missions by the emperor, see LV 3820 11–17 n. (p. 224), citing PLRE I 302–3 (11), P. Guyot, *Eunuchen als Sklaven und Freigelassene* 199–201. We do not know that he ever visited Egypt, but now this passage could suggest that he did, if we could accept 344 as the date of 4087, involving an incorrect consular formula, see introd. None of the available years for the supposed consular formula in 4087 1 and 85 fits into the terms of office of the prefect Flavius Philagrius in 335–7 or 338–40, so that the Eusebius in Egypt in 3820 13 still cannot be associated with the reference to the *praepositus sacri cubiculi* here.

16 There are a few ink traces on the badly broken surface before Αω which it is difficult to assign to particular letters.

26 τρ]ιβόρνον suggests itself, but the initial traces (on a fibre straggling out to the left) do not confirm this.

34 It is unlikely that any more entries followed below this, comparing the dimensions and format of the other pieces of the roll.

38–9 The line end traces are on inv. 119/35, which has the last column of entries for Phaophi. There are a few other scattered traces of line ends from this column lower down on inv. 119/35, but they are too uncertain to transcribe with the useful exception of the day of the month in 59.

40 The presence of a short line here is not certain. No trace survives, obviously, but a two-line entry would be unusually short. The vertical space is tight for containing the line, but rather deep without it.

42–3 The number of κάπιτα is not certain, since frequently it exceeds the number of ἀνώναι; hence we are unable to restore the end of 43.

52 κρ[ιθών expected at the end, but I cannot fit the traces to it.

69 Probably only one line lost at the foot of the column.

70 παλ]ατίον. There is no space for a name to precede; the absence of a name (contrast e.g. 73) is surprising.

79 Αψμθ (1749). The *annonae* of bread recorded in the preceding accounts for Phaophi come to 1281 (19 entries) plus 7 entries where the *annona* figure is lost. The average for the 19 entries is 67.4 *annonae*. If we extend this as an average for the 7 incomplete entries, we add 472 *annonae* to the recorded 1281, giving a total of 1753, only 4 more than the papyrus total. This exercise is a reasonable confirmation that we do have the accounts for Phaophi complete, despite the fragmentary condition of the papyrus and the break between cols. ii–iii.

91[. The beginning of the entry for οἶνου, or a further conversion to artabas, cf. οἶ λ. αἶ) (ἀπράβαι) in 80?

80 I see no explanation of why the κάπιτα figure for κριθή should not be divisible by 3. The figure given and the modius-conversion back each other up, and the litrai for chaff (= 1724 × 20, line 81) provide further confirmation.

It is tantalizing that the artaba conversion figure for the modii of barley remains uncertain. The double strokes however suggest that no units followed ϵξ (260), but a two-figure fraction (cf. 83), thus e.g. ιβ'' (1/12) or κδ'' (1/24) or ςδ'' (1/2 + 1/4, i.e. 3/4). The remains are very scanty indeed, but 1/24 may be the easiest to discern. This would give a modius:artaba ratio of 3.3148:1, almost the traditional 3 1/3 modii per artaba. Cf. R. P. Duncan-Jones, *ZPE* 21 (1976) 49.

83 The initial quantity is of meat. The thousands figure is almost entirely abraded.

85. Cf. 1 n.

86 It is not clear why there should be check marks at the end of this line and 88 and 90. May they be connected with the fact that these are Phaophi entries, that strictly should have been included in the section of the accounts that ended in col. iii? For check marks see also 123 n.

88 Note the abridged form of the ἀχύρ(ου) entry. It looks as if the writer wanted to avoid the entry spreading on to a fourth line. Similarly abridged entries recur in 118, 161 and 179, where the full form would have meant running on to an extra line, and we restore the abridged form in 185 where again the full form would need to run on to an extra line, which the spacing indicates did not exist. Cf. also 188 n.

100 Further scanty traces of ink survive on loose fibres to the left of the first letters printed as existing.

109 Scanty ink traces on loose fibres projecting to the left of ] κόμιτος.

111 Scanty ink traces on loose fibres projecting to the left of ] κρέως.

122 This column (col. iv) contains slightly more lines (38) than elsewhere in this roll (col. i 34(?) lines, col. ii 36 lines estimated, col. iii a short column, col. v 35 lines estimated, cols. vi–vii lost, col. viii 33(?) lines); the lines are a little more closely packed vertically in this column.

123 Each entry in this column is prefaced by a check mark. This is the only column with its line beginnings intact to be so treated, in either **4087** or **4088**. Note 86 n.

127-8 The figure for *κάπιτα* in 127 is uncertain—it is often slightly more than the *ἀννῶναι* figure—which precludes completion of 128. The same considerations apply to 130-1, 133-4, 136-7 and 142-3.

145 It is not clear whether a third line may have followed here for this entry (no trace remains, obviously). The space would be very tight.

148 The line apparently began inset, as happens elsewhere (cf. 108, 112).

155 Probably just two lines lost from here to the foot of the column.

162 End of the line very uncertain. Supposed *η* represented only by a faint horizontal.

163 ἡ]μέρ(α) α. β written by mistake instead of α?

166 Possibly only a single-figure numeral immediately after *Χοιάκ* (thus *Χοιάκ*],.).

169 Scanty ink traces on badly shredded and displaced fibres to the left of ] ὑ(πέρ) may belong to this line.

176 First surviving traces on loose fibres, and extremely scanty and doubtful. Form of abbreviation of ἀχύρ(ου) not clear.

177 Traces before *ιρρ* are extremely scanty, on loose and tangled fibres.

179 Occasional traces in a shredded and tangled area to left of ] *κριθῶν*.

188 Figures possibly οβ and λ[ς, but this is very uncertain. In its minimal form, the line would then end ἀχύρ(ου) λί(τραι) *Ανμ*. Cf. 88 n. There is space at the end of the line for up to c. 12 letters, and the minimal form would fit well with this, avoiding a run-on into a short further line.

Comparison with the dimensions and format of the other fragments suggests that no further entries followed at the foot of this column.

**4088**

119/90

28 × 26 cm

c. 347-350

(Col. i)

1	[	εἰς Θηβ]αῖδα
2	[	Π]αῦνι ιε καὶ ις
3	[	οἶνου] ξ(έεται) λς κρ(έως) λί(τραι) ιη
4	[	ἀχύρου] λί(τραι) ψκ
5	[	].
6	[	] ις (γίνονται) ἡμ(έραι) γ
7	[	λ]ς κρ(έως) λί(τραι) ιη
8	[	] (vac.)
9	[(γίνονται) ἐξ ἀννωναρ(ίων)	] κρέως λί(τραι) ρν
10	[	]..
11	[καὶ ἐξ ἀννωναρ(ίων) Φλ(αοίου) Καλ-(?)	] (vac.)
12	[	]... Παῦνι ιδ

- 13 [ ] ἀν(νῶναι) ιβ κάπ(ιτα) ιβ  
 14 [ ? μόδι(οι)] ιη  
 15 [ ] (vac.)  
 16 [ ] (vac.)  
 17 [ Παῦνι ιε] κα[ι] ις (γίνονται) ἡμ(έραι) γ  
 18 [ ] κρ(έως) λί(τραι) ιη  
 19 [ ] (vac.)  
 20 [ ] ..[...].  
 21 [ ] (γίνονται) ἡμέρ(αι) γ

(Col. ii)

- 22 ἡμ(ερησίως) ἀν(νῶναι) ιβ κάπ(ιτα) ιβ' ἄρτου ἀν(νῶναι) λς  
 οἴνου ξ(έσται) λς κρέως λί(τραι) ιη  
 23 κριθῶν κάπ(ιτα) λς μό[δ]ι(οι) ιη ἀχύρου λί(τραι) ψκ.  
 24 φαμιλία Κυριανοῦ πραι(ποσίτου) ἀνερχομ(ένη) εἰς Θηβ[α]ῖδα  
 25 ἐν Τακόνα ὑ(πέρ) ἡμ(έρας) α' Παῦ[ν]ι ιδ καὶ ἐν τῇ π[ό]λει [ὑ](πέρ)  
 ἡμ(ερῶν) β Παῦνι ιε καὶ ις (γίνονται) ἡμ(έραι) γ  
 26 ἡμ(ερησίως) ἀν(νῶναι) ιβ κάπ(ιτα) ιβ' ἄρτου ἀν(νῶναι) λς  
 οἴνου ξ(έσται) λς κρέως λί(τραι) ιη  
 27 κριθῶν κάπ(ιτα) λς μόνι(οι) ιη ἀχύρ[ο]υ λί(τραι) ψκ.  
 28 φαμιλία Ρουφίνου σκουταρίου κατερ[χο]μ[(ένη)] ἀπὸ Θηβαῖδος  
 29 ἐν τῇ πόλει ὑ(πέρ) ἡμ(ερῶν) β Παῦνι ζ [κ]αὶ η καὶ [ἐν Τ]ακόνα  
 ὑ(πέρ) ἡμ(έρας) α' Παῦνι θ'  
 30 (γίνονται) ἡμ(έραι) γ ἡμ(ερησίως) ἀν(νῶναι) ιδ' [κ]άπ(ιτα) ιδ  
 31 ἄρτου ἀν(νῶναι) μβ οἴνου ξ(έσται) μβ κρ[έ]ως λί(τραι) κα'  
 32 κριθῶν κάπ(ιτα) μβ μόνι(οι) κα ἀχύρου λί(τραι) ωμ.  
 33 φαμιλία Προσφόρου τριβούνου σκουταρ[ίων κα]τερ[χομ](ένη) ἀπὸ  
 Θηβαῖδος  
 34 ἐν τῇ πόλει ὑ(πέρ) ἡμ(ερῶν) β Παῦνι ιθ καὶ κ ἐν Τακ[όνα] ὑ(πέρ)  
 ἡμ(έρας) α' Παῦνι κα (γίνονται) ἡμ(έραι) γ  
 35 ἡμ(ερησίως) ἀν(νῶναι) θ κάπ(ιτα) ιβ' ἄρτου ἀν(νῶναι) κζ οἴνου  
 ξ(έσται) κζ κρ(έως) λί(τραι) ιγδ'  
 36 κριθῶν κάπ(ιτα) λς μόνι(οι) ιη ἀχύρου λί(τραι) ψκ.



- 37 παισὶν καὶ κτήσιν Οὐαλεντίνου κ[ου]ταρίου ἀνερχομ(ένοις) εἰς Θηβαῖδα  
 38 ἐν Τακόνα υ(πέρ) ἡμ(έρας) α' Παῦνι β καὶ ἐν τῇ π[όλει υ(πέρ)]  
 ἡμ(ερῶν) β' Παῦνι γ καὶ δ' (γίνονται) ἡμ(έραι) γ  
 39 {(γίνονται)} ἡμ(ερησίως) ἀν(νῶναι) ι κάπ(ιτα) ιβ ἄρτου  
 ἀ[ν(νῶναι)] λ οἴνου ξ(έσται) λ κρέως λί(τραι) ιε  
 40 κριθῶν κάπ(ιτα) λς μόδι(οι) ιη ἀχύρου κάπ(ιτα) λς λί(τραι) ψκ.  
 41 τοῖς αὐτοῖς κατερχομ(ένοις) ἀπὸ Θηβαῖδο[ς] ἐν τῇ πόλει υ(πέρ) ἡμ(ερῶν)  
 β Παῦνι κς καὶ κς—καὶ  
 42 ἐν Τακόνα υ(πέρ) ἡμ(έρας) α Παῦνι κη— (γίνονται) ἡμ(έραι) γ  
 [ἡ]μ(ερησίως) <ἀν(νῶναι)> ι κάπ(ιτα) ι<β>

(Col. iii; on back)

- 43 ἄρτου ἀν[(νῶναι) λ] οἴνου [ξ(έσται) λ] κρέως λί(τραι) ιε  
 44 κριθῶν κάπ(ιτα) λς μόδι(οι) ι[η] ἀχ[ύρου] λί(τραι) ψκ.  
 45 φαμιλία Μαξίμ[ου] σκουταρίου . . . . .  
 46 ἐν Τακόνα υ(πέρ) ἡμ(έρας) α' Παῦνι γ [καὶ ἐ]ν τῇ πόλει υ(πέρ)  
 ἡ[μ](ερῶν) β' Παῦνι δ καὶ ε  
 47 (γίνονται) ἡμ(έραι) γ ἡμ(ερησίως) ἀν[(νῶναι)] η [κάπ(ιτα) η]  
 48 ἄρτου ἀν(νῶναι) κδ οἴνου ξ(έσται) κδ κρέως λί(τραι) ιβ  
 49 κριθῶν κάπ(ιτα) κδ μόδι(οι) ι[β] ἀχύρου λί(τραι) υπ.  
 50 τοῖς αὐτοῖς κατερχομ(ένοις) ἀπ[ὸ Θ]ηβαῖ[δος εἰς Ἀν]τιόχίαν  
 51 ἐν τῇ πόλει υ(πέρ) ἡμ(ερῶν) β Παῦνι κς καὶ κς [καὶ] ἐν Τακόνα  
 υ(πέρ) ἡμ(έρας) α' κη  
 52 (γίνονται) ἡμ(έραι) γ ἡμ(ερησίως) ἀν(νῶναι) η [κάπ(ιτα) η]  
 53 ἄρτου ἀν(νῶναι) κδ' οἴνου ξ(έσται) κ[δ] κρέως λί(τραι) ιβ  
 54 κριθῶν κάπ(ιτα) κδ' μόδι(οι) ιβ ἀχύρου λί(τραι) υπ.  
 55 προσώποις ἐπανελθ(ούσιν) ἀπὸ Ἀντι[οχίας] ἀνερχομ(ένοις) πρὸς τὸν  
 διασημ(ότατον) δοῦκα  
 56 Φλ(άουιον) Φιλικίσσιμον ὡς κατ[ὰ τὴν αὐτοῦ(?) κ]έλευσιν  
 57 ἐν μονῇ Τακόνα υ(πέρ) ἡμ(έρας) α' [Παῦνι δ κα]ὶ ἐν τῇ πόλει υ(πέρ)  
 ἡμ(ερῶν) β' Παῦνι ε— καὶ ς—  
 58 (γίνονται) ἡμ(έραι) γ' ἡμ(ερησίως) ἀν(νῶναι) . . (vac.?) . . ιδ'  
 κάπ(ιτα) ιδ'



- 59 ἄρτου ἀν(νῶναι) μβ οἶνου ξ(έεται) [μβ] κρέως λί(τραι) κα'  
 60 κριθ(ῶν) κάπ(ιτα) μβ' μόδι(οι) κα [ἀ]χύρου κάπ(ιτα) μβ'  
 λί(τραι) ωμ.  
 61 (γίνονται) ἐξ ἀνωναρ(ίων) Φλ(αουίου) Ζαλ[.] . . ι[.] . . ἄρ]του  
 ἀν(νῶναι) τξγ οἶ(νου) ξ(έεται) τξγ κρ(έως)  
 λί(τραι) ρπαϚ'  
 62 κριθῶν κάπ(ιτα) τπδ' μόδι(οι) ρρβ ἀχύρου λί(τραι) Ζχπ.  
 63 καὶ ἐξ ἀνωναρ(ίων) Φλ(αουίου) Νιγρινιανο[ὐ το]ὐ λαμ(προτάτου)  
 κόμιτος  
 64 Ἰουνίῳ καὶ Κρησκεντίῳ ἀνε[ρχομ(ένοισ)] εἰς Θηβαῖδα

(Col. iv)

- 65 ἐν μονῇ Τα[κόνα  
 66 [ c. 4 ] . . [  
 67 κριθῶν κάπ(ιτα)  
 68 οὐετρανοῖς ἀ[νερχομ(ένοισ)]?  
 69 ἐν μονῇ Τακόνα [  
 70 ἄρτου ἀν(νῶναι) ιη[  
 71 (γίνονται) ἐξ ἀνν[ωναρ(ίων) Φλ(αουίου) Νιγρινιανοῦ  
 72 ἀχύρου .[  
 73 καὶ ἐξ ἀνωναρ(ίων) [  
 74 ὀφφ(ικιαλίοις) ἀνερχομ(ένοισ) εἰ[ς  
 75 ἐν μονῇ Τακόνα .[  
 76 ἄρτου ἀν(νῶναι) ιη [  
 77 ἵπποις ἐνιαυσίως α. [  
 78 ἐν τῇ πόλει ὑ(πέρ) ἡμ(ερῶν) β [  
 79 {(γίνονται)} κάπ(ιτα) κδ μόδ[ι](οι) [  
 80 (γίνονται) ἐξ ἀννω[ναρ(ίων)  
 81 κριθ(ῶν) κάπ(ιτα) [  
 82 (γίνονται) μηγδς ἄρτου ἀν(νῶναι) [  
 83 οἶνου ξ(έεται) ψθ [  
 84 ἀχύρου κάπ(ιτα) [

3 ξ/ (ξ cut by diagonal)    κρ/ (ρ cut by diagonal) λ    6 /ημς    13 αν, καπ'    21 ημερ/  
 (ρ cut by diagonal)    22 αν'    23 μoδiς/ (ς cut by diagonal)    24 πραι)ανερχομς    25 υ)  
 27 κρι<sup>θ</sup>    28 κατερχομς    42 η of κη written over ζ    55 επανελθ', διαερημς    56 φλ'  
 1. Φηλικίccμον; ν corr. from υ in a paler ink, possibly by a different hand    61 αννωναρ/ (ρ cut by  
 diagonal), οι- (tall iota cut by horizontal)    63 λαμς    74 οφφ/ (φφ cut by diagonal)

(Lines 21–65) '...total 3 days: daily, 12 *annonae* and 12 *capita*. Bread, 36 *annonae*; wine, 36 *sextarii*; meat, 18 *litrai*; barley, 36 *capita*, = 18 *modii*; chaff, 720 *litrai*.

'To the *familia* of Syrianus, *praepositus*, travelling up to the Thebaid, in Tacona for 1 day, Payni 14, and in the city for 2 days, Payni 15 and 16, total 3 days: daily, 12 *annonae* and 12 *capita*. Bread, 36 *annonae*; wine, 36 *sextarii*; meat, 18 *litrai*; barley, 36 *capita*, = 18 *modii*; chaff, 720 *litrai*.

'To the *familia* of Rufinus, *scutarius*, travelling down from the Thebaid, in the city for 2 days, Payni 7 and 8, and in Tacona for 1 day, Payni 9, total 3 days: daily, 14 *annonae* and 14 *capita*. Bread, 42 *annonae*; wine, 42 *sextarii*; meat, 21 *litrai*; barley, 42 *capita*, = 21 *modii*; chaff, 840 *litrai*.

'To the *familia* of Prosporus, tribune of *scutarii*, travelling down from the Thebaid, in the city for 2 days, Payni 19 and 20, in Tacona for 1 day, Payni 21, total 3 days: daily, 9 *annonae* and 12 *capita*. Bread, 27 *annonae*; wine, 27 *sextarii*; meat, 13 1/2 *litrai*; barley, 36 *capita*, = 18 *modii*; chaff, 720 *litrai*.

'To slaves and animals of Valentinus, *scutarius*, travelling up to the Thebaid, in Tacona for 1 day, Payni 2, and in the city for 2 days, Payni 3 and 4, total 3 days: daily, 10 *annonae* and 12 *capita*. Bread, 30 *annonae*; wine, 30 *sextarii*; meat, 15 *litrai*; barley, 36 *capita*, = 18 *modii*; chaff, 36 *capita*, = 720 *litrai*.

'To the same, travelling down from the Thebaid, in the city for 2 days, Payni 26 and 27, and in Tacona for 1 day, Payni 28, total 3 days: daily, 10 <*annonae*> and 1<2> *capita*. Bread, 30 *annonae*; wine, 30 *sextarii*; meat, 15 *litrai*; barley, 36 *capita*, = 18 *modii*; chaff, 720 *litrai*.

'To the *familia* of Maximus, *scutarius*, ... in Tacona for 1 day, Payni 3, and in the city for 2 days, Payni 4 and 5, total 3 days: daily, 8 *annonae* and 8 *capita*. Bread, 24 *annonae*; wine, 24 *sextarii*; meat, 12 *litrai*; barley, 24 *capita*, = 12 *modii*; chaff, 480 *litrai*.

'To the same, travelling down from the Thebaid to Antioch, in the city for 2 days, Payni 26 and 27, and in Tacona for 1 day, 28, total 3 days: daily, 8 *annonae* and 8 *capita*. Bread, 24 *annonae*; wine, 24 *sextarii*; meat, 12 *litrai*; barley, 24 *capita*, = 12 *modii*; chaff, 480 *litrai*.

'To persons returning from Antioch, travelling up to Flavius Felicissimus, *vir perfectissimus*, *dux*, in accordance with his order, in the *mansio* at Tacona for 1 day, Payni 4, and in the city for 2 days, Payni 5 and 6, total 3 days: daily, 14 *annonae* and 14 *capita*. Bread, 42 *annonae*; wine, 42 *sextarii*; meat, 21 *litrai*; barley, 42 *capita*, = 21 *modii*; chaff, 42 *capita*, = 840 *litrai*.

'Total from the *annonarii* of Flavius ?Sal-: bread, 363 *annonae*; wine, 363 *sextarii*; meat, 181 1/2 *litrai*; barley, 384 *capita*, = 192 *modii*; chaff, 7680 *litrai*.

‘And from the *annonarii* of Flavius Nigrinianus, *vir clarissimus*, comes:

‘To Junius and Crescentius, travelling up to the Thebaid, in the *mansio* at Tacona ...’

1–21 Lines 1–4 record 12 ἀννῶναι and 12 κάπιτα each day for Payni 14th (Tacona), 15th–16th (Oxyrhynchus). Lines 5–8 also record 12 ἀννῶναι daily over the same period; the direction of travel is uncertain. Lines 9–10 must be a short entry parallel to 61–2; 150 λίτραι of meat are mentioned, which would imply a group of 100 travelling, but there is no room for an entry of normal type and this must rather represent a total of some kind. Lines 12–15 record 12 ἀννῶναι and 12 κάπιτα, stopping on Payni 14th; the other days and the direction of travel are unknown. Lines 16–19 record a group of uncertain size (but probably 12 persons, see the note on 61–2) stopping on Payni 14th in Tacona and Payni 15th–16th in Oxyrhynchus. This homogeneity of dates (they recur in 24–7 as well) is not maintained elsewhere in 4088, and must be a coincidence. The final entry in this column, lines 20–21, is continued in col. ii.

9–10 See 61–2 n.

11–13 It is not clear if the proposed line 11 really exists. With or without it, it is uncertain how the elements of the entry should be arranged to achieve the data in 12–13 at this position at the line ends. 41–2 cannot be used as a parallel (thus omitting line 11) since a) the sub-total immediately above here in 9–10 (see notes on 61–2, 82–4) precludes an entry here of the type τοῖς αὐτοῖς κατερχομ(ένοις); and b) such an entry is also precluded by the dates given here in 12 and for the preceding group in 6, fragmentary though they are. Possibly 11 contained an introductory ἐξ ἀννωναρ(ίων) phrase, of the type found in 63, referring forward to all the entries which were then summarized in 61–2; a similar ‘opening and closing’ pattern is conjectured for 63 ff., see 63 n. This however does not help us to understand the layout in 12–13.

21 ἡμέρ(αι). ημερ/ (ρ cut by the diagonal) was the standard form of abbreviation in 4087 but occurs only here in 4088.

27 Here (after ιη) and intermittently through this column, areas of rough surface have caused deliberate spaces to be left, which now have to be distinguished from equally blank seeming but totally abraded areas.

33 Προσφόρον. A feminine form Προσφορία occurs in LVI 3862 16. Cf. Prosperus in I. Kajanto, *The Latin Cognomina* 273?

37 On soldiers’ servants see M. P. Speidel, *Anc. Soc.* 20 (1989) 239–248.

40 Note the fuller form of the entry for chaff, cf. 60, 84; that was the commoner form in 4087, but the shortened version is the usual one here.

42 κάπ(ιτα) ι<β>. 12 capita are required by the rations set out in 44, supposedly a continuation from here. This discrepancy would throw doubt on the continuity, were it not that the figure of 12 capita has already been given for the same group travelling south, see 39. The requirement of 12 capita here is also confirmed by the total in 62, see the note thereto, which confirms the continuity from front to back of the sheet.

45 The traces at the line end are little more than scanty dots of ink. There may have been more, totally lost, beyond the last indicated traces. At a minimum, ἀνερχομ(ένη) εἰς Θηβαῖδα would be expected, cf. 24 and 37, but the entries below in this column warn us that the lost wording might be less routine, cf. especially 50 for the return journey of the same group.

47 [κάπ(ιτα) η]. A spot of ink survives, probably from κ or α or π, but I cannot determine which.

50 αὐτοῖς κατερχομ(ένοις) appears to have been written over washed-out writing.

51 Note the omission of the month name at the end of the line. Its inclusion would have extended the line more than any above. There is ample room in the line below, obviously, but putting the month there would have upset the compiler’s preferred pattern of beginning the (usually) third line of each entry with (γίνονται) ἡμ(έραι) γ or ἡμ(ερησίως).

52 [κάπ(ιτα) η]. One or two slight marks of ink actually survive, which I cannot attribute to any particular letter.

56 For Flavius Felicissimus see the introd. above to 4087–8. A fairly close *terminus post quem* for Felicissimus’ tenure is provided by that of Flavius Valacius, see *PLRE* I 929, 1119, with LV 3793 (a printing error has allowed the end of his name to drop out in line 4).

ὡς κατ[ὰ τὴν αὐτοῦ(?) κ]ελευσιν. Cf. LIV 3741 16.



58 ημσαν appears to have been stroked through with several close slightly-diagonal lines; but these might just possibly all be a smudge. They may, alternatively, be connected with what follows where something peculiar has happened; the abraded surface prevents our understanding what has occurred.

61 ἀννωναρ(ων). I have understood these as the officials who supplied warrants to the travelling parties for the use of the *mansiones*, see the introd. above to **4087–8**. For the *annonarii* as quartermasters see A. H. M. Jones, *LRE* (1973) I 626.

Φλ(αουίου) ζαλ[.]. .ι[.]. . A puzzle. Possibly ζελ[ or Εϋλ[? The name presumably appeared in the heading for this section in 11. Given his overall responsibility for the travelling plans of 121 people (see 82–4 n.), and comparing him with Nigrinianus in 63, a senior official should await identification here. I have not succeeded in fitting the name of any possible official beginning Sal- or Sel- or Eul- in *PLRE* I to the traces.

Another possibility might be to read Ολ[. This instantly suggests Flavius Olympius, *praeses* of Augustamnica in 343 (J. Lallemand, *L'admin. civile* 257 with P. J. Sijpesteijn and K. A. Worp, *Tyche* 1 (1986) 194; add SB XVI 12814). This is well before the dates attested for Flavius Felicissimus as *dux* (see 56 and the introd. above to **4087–8**), used as a date range for **4088**, although there is no recorded *praeses* of Augustamnica in the interval. However, I have been unable to see the rest of Olympius' name in the remaining traces, nor is it clear that the authority of the *praeses* of Augustamnica might be appropriate.

61–2 The figures here correctly represent the total rations issued in the entries listed by the papyrus back to 11 (9–10 are obviously a similar total for the entries prior to that). This is useful information, and confirms the text continuation from front to back of the sheet. There was some doubt about the figure in 18, but this is confirmed by the arithmetic of the total, which also requires the number of *capita* to be 12 per day for that entry (no guide to the latter figure had survived *ad loc.*). See further the note to 82–4.

63 ἐξ ἀννωναρ(ων). See the introd. to **4087–8**. For the preceding entries of this type cf. the notes above on 11–13 and 61–2. Three further examples follow this one in 63, in lines 71 and 73 and 80 of the following column. Probably these examples divide into two pairs, 63 and 71–2 both referring to the entries in 64–70, while 73 and 80–1 refer to the entries in 74–9. Note (γίνονται) at the start of 71 and 80.

Persons with the title of *comes* were numerous, as **4087** shows. Here—especially if my understanding of ἐξ ἀννωναρ(ων) is correct, see the introd. to **4087–8** and 61 n. above—the *comes* appears to have a broader authority, and it is legitimate to wonder whether Flavius Nigrinianus may not have been *comes Orientis*. Given the broad date range for **4088** of c. 347–50 (see introd.), there would be no problem in fitting him into the list (*PLRE* I 1082), beyond there being two holders of the office recorded in 349. One may further wonder whether he may be the Nigrinianus who was consul in 350 (*CLRE* pp. 234–5; *PLRE* I 631; note the Antioch connection). An earlier *comes*, Vulcacius Rufinus, had made the same progression (*comes Orientis* 342, *cos.* 347; *PLRE* I 782–3). This identity for Nigrinianus would also suggest a date for **4088** earlier rather than later in the broad date range of c. 347–50.

64 Κρησκεντίω. A Flavius Crescentius occurs in **4089** ii of 351, and PSI I 90 of 364 attests a Flavius Crescentius as former *praepositus*. Crescentius here should be a different person, see **4089** 33 n.

68 Although ἀ[νερχομ(ένους)] is conjectural, and the veterans may have been more fully described, nevertheless the direction of travel must be southwards towards the Thebaid; there would be no room for ἐν τῇ πόλει κτλ in 68, and furthermore wherever else ἐν μονῇ Τακόνα (69) appears (57, 65, 75) it is always as the first Oxyrhynchite *mansio*, i.e. the direction of travel is southwards.

69 The line will have been somewhat long if all the regular elements were included. Perhaps an abridged format was used here. The same considerations apply to 75. On the other hand, a long line length could allow the inclusion of animal rations in 70 and 76.

70 Space may preclude the inclusion of any animal rations in this entry (but cf. 69 n.). The same applies to the next entry, see 74–6 n.

74 Something more than simply Θηβαῖδα (cf. 24, 37) is required to fill the line.

74–6 Only human rations are recorded in this entry, apparently (? but cf. 69 n.). The next entry includes animal rations only, see 77 n.; we can only guess whether there might be a connection.

75 See 69 n.

77 This annual equine visit is intriguing. The horses might be from a levy, perhaps remounts for a cavalry unit. Alternatively some special function may have been involved, perhaps a chariot race; obviously the function would not have been at Oxyrhynchus, since the horses only stop there in transit. For a brief bibliography on chariot racing see J. C. Shelton, *O. Ashm. Shelton* p. 80. 77–9 apparently record animal

rations only, implying that these horses travelled without escorts; this can hardly be true. The direction in which they were travelling remains unclear, but cf. 74-6 n.

82-4 These lines represent the total for the whole month (Payni), amalgamating the several sub-total  $\xi\zeta$  ἀνωναρ(ίων) entries (9-10, 61-2, 71-2 and 80-1). Unfortunately only one total survives, that for wine, but that is significant: in 83 the total number of  $\xi$ (έταται) is given as 709. This figure should divide by three to give the total number of persons receiving rations during the month, but so divided it gives us an inconvenient 236 1/3. (Cf. the total of 583 people in the much busier Phaophi recorded by **4087**.)

We do not know how much is lost for Payni before col. i. How close to the stated total will the rations recorded by the papyrus come? The sub-total in 61-2 (see n.) recorded 363 day-rations, representing 121 persons. The fragmentary parallel entry in 9-10 is sufficient to attest a further 100 persons. To the combined 221 we have to add the persons figuring in 63-76 (77-9 recording only horses, irrelevant for this purpose). If 63-7 record the two named persons only, and if the damaged figure in 70 is rightly restored (rather than read!) as ιη (it should be divisible by three, and ιβ and ιε are much less likely) to give 6 veterans, these plus the 6  $\delta\phi\phi$ (ικιάλαιοι) in 74-6 (we have a clear ration figure in 76) plus the aforesaid 221 = 235; multiplied by three to give the day rations, we get 705 = ψε. Is the θ of ψθ in 83 a copyist's error?

The layout requires the bread total in 82, wine, meat and barley totals in 83 and the chaff total in 84. This is an uneven distribution (unimportant for 84, the last line). 82 may have been taken up with conversions, cf. **4087** 79. Note though that there (line 80) the barley total is also followed by conversions.

REVEL COLES

#### 4089. FINANCIAL REPORT TO THE STRATEGUS

119/83(b)

32.8 × 24.6 cm

October/November 351

This large and mostly well preserved sheet supplies two columns of a report to the strategus of the Oxyrhynchite nome by a local councillor who holds some post relating to the military camp at Psobthis in that nome (see 4 n.). The report proceeds to tabulate receipts of wheat and barley for the months of Thoth and Phaophi, beginning in each case with a statement of arrears of stock held from Mesore, and may be presumed to have been drawn up in Hathyr, i.e. October–November. There are sufficient traces at the extreme right edge to indicate that another column followed. Since the totals at the foot of col. i (σίτου) and ii (κριθῆς) only record the new sum of arrears plus receipts of the relevant commodity, the expected statement of deliveries (παράδοσεως, 6) must have come at the end of the accounts.

The name of the strategus (2) is of special interest. This is Flavius Paeanius (alias Macrobius), who had been *curator civitatis* of Oxyrhynchus in 336: see P. Oxy. LIV pp. 227–8. **4091** below further attests Paeanius as strategus in 352. This new dated evidence for him in this appointment allows a reassessment of his career; the repercussions for our understanding of fourth century administration should be considered along with **4086** of 345 above, which supplies similarly unexpected data for the former *curator civitatis* (329–31) Flavius Julianus. In particular, we should redate XXII **2344** to c. 351–2 in place of the edition's c. 336 (with consequent effects for the study of the early Church, since a Christian bishop features in **2344**), and transfer the entry for **2344** in the survey of Paeanius' career in P. Oxy. LIV pp. 227–8 from under the



heading 'Earlier career' to a new heading 'Later career'. Much of the discussion about **2344** on P. Oxy. LIV p. 227 is now rendered obsolete; we know now that Paeanius was strategus after being *curator*, and was entitled to the name Flavius because of that earlier appointment.

The receipts for each commodity are divided principally under the headings *πολιτῶν* (12, 31) and *κωμητῶν* (17, 44; for this distinction see P. Cair. Isid. 9 introd., pp. 76–7, and cf. also P. Cair. Isid. 11). Entries under the former consist of individual names with amounts ranging from 2 to  $19\frac{1}{2}$  artabas (33 records 140 artabas, but this looks exceptional and official in character). Entries under *κωμητῶν* are given *en bloc*, with numbered pagus and village name and then *διά* followed by a personal name for the paying (collecting?) agent. In two cases (21–2) these are soldiers. Amounts range from less than an artaba up to 24 artabas; several of the amounts are less than some of the individual contributions under the *πολιτῶν* heading. Following these sections there is a small further entry of receipts for each commodity under the heading *ταμ( )* (24, 53), presumably receipts from confiscated land now administered by the fiscus. The arithmetic is correct throughout.

The 2nd, 3rd, 6th, 7th and 8th pagi are represented. Additions to our knowledge of the pagus locations of certain villages form the most useful topographical data in the text.

Check marks have been placed against all the individual *πολιτῶν*-category contributions, but not against any in the *κωμητῶν*-category nor against any of the totals. It is clear that these are check marks and not numeral markers (they are different from the numeral markers in 19, 22, 25 and 53); also the pen is slightly different (less crisp), and they may be by a different hand.

At the left edge of the papyrus are remains of a sheet join with a vertical layer of fibres showing, probably to be explained as from the upper sheet of a protocollon (E. G. Turner, *Recto and Verso* (*Pap. Brux.* 16) 20–22, 29); the ink of some of the line beginnings overruns on to these vertical fibres. There is a manufacturer's (i.e. 3 layer, see P. Harr. II 212 introd.) sheet join midway in col. ii. The back is blank.

(Col. i)

μετὰ τὴν ὑπατείαν Φλαουίων Σεργίου καὶ Νιγρ<ιν>ιανοῦ τῶν

λαμ(προτάτων).

[Φλ]αρινῶ Παιανίῳ στρατηγῶ Ὁξυρυγίτου

[παρὰ Αὐρ]ηλίου Κολοβοῦ Θεοδώρου βουλ(ευτοῦ) τῆς αὐτῆς πόλεως

[ἐπιμελ(ητοῦ)?] φρουρίου κάστρων Ψώβθεως τοῦ Ὁξυρυγ(ίτου) νομοῦ.

ἐπι—

5 [ζητο]ῦντί{ν} σοι τὸν λόγον τῆς γεγενημένης ὑπ' ἐμοῦ

[παραλ]ήμψεως καὶ παραδόσεως ἐπὶ τοῦδε τοῦ μη(νός) Θῶθ

- [καὶ] Φ[α]ῶφι, ἀναγκαίως ἐξῆς ἐντάξας ἐπιδίδωμι {ε}ῖν'  
 εἰδέναι ἔχοι σου ἡ ἐμμέλια. ἔστι δέ· ις ἰνδικτίωνος  
 λοιπογραφ(ούμεναι) ἀ(πὸ) λόγου μη(νὸς) Μεσορῇ cíτου (ἀρτάβαι) cλςδ"  
 10 καὶ πρ(ος)εγέ<νε>το τῷδε τῷ λόγῳ (ἀρτάβαι) ρβ (δίμοιρ.)  
 ὦν  
 πο[λ]ιτῶν (ἀρτάβαι) ια  
 ὦν  
 Πλουτιανὸς Εὐδαίμωνος (ἀρτάβαι) θ'  
 15 .....αἶνα [δ]ι(ὰ) Ἀφυγχείου (ἀρτάβαι) β'  
 γ(ίνονται) αἱ π(ροκείμεναι).  
 κωμητῶν ὁμοίως (ἀρτάβαι) να (δίμοιρ.)  
 ὦν  
 β' πάγου Καδάλου δι(ὰ) Ἰσάκ Ἀμόϊτος (ἀρτάβαι) κδ'  
 20 γ' πάγου Σύρων δι(ὰ) Παπνουτίου Παποντῶτος (ἀρτάβης) (δίμοιρ.)  
 ζ' πάγου Ἰστρου δι(ὰ) Κοπρέως στρατι(ώτου) (ἀρτάβαι) γ  
 η' πάγου Τήεως δι(ὰ) Ἀνουβίωνος πρίνκ(ιπος) (ἀρτάβαι) κδ'  
 γ(ίνονται) αἱ π(ροκείμεναι).  
 ταμ( ) ε" πάγου Πακέρκ[η] Σενοπώθεως  
 25 δι(ὰ) Διογένους προθμαρί[ο]υ (ἀρτάβαι) λ'  
 γ(ίνονται) ὁμοῦ cὺν λοιπ(ο)γραφ(ουμέναις) (ἀρτάβαι) τκθγίβ.  
 (Col. ii)  
 κριθῆς ὁμοίως λημ(μάτων)  
 λοιπογραφ(ούμεναι) ἀ(πὸ) λόγ(ου) μη(νὸς) Μεσορῇ (ἀρτάβαι) cοβγ"  
 καὶ πρ(ος)εγένετο τῷδε τῷ λόγῳ (ἀρτάβαι) cο  
 30 ὦν  
 πολιτῶν (ἀρτάβαι) ciς'  
 ὦν  
 Μακρόβιος ἀπὸ ἡγεμωνιῶν καὶ Φλ(άουιος) Κρησκέντιος (ἀρτάβαι) ρμ'  
 Ἱερακοῦδος τῆς καὶ Δημητρίας (ἀρτάβαι) ιθς'  
 35 Ὠριγενία θυγ(άτηρ) Φιλοξένου (ἀρτάβαι) η'  
 Ἀχιλλεὺς Φιλοσεράπιδος (ἀρτάβαι) ιη'  
 Ἀπολλώνιος Δ[η]μητρίου (ἀρτάβαι) s'  
 Σαραπίων ὁ καὶ Κ[τ]ήρων καὶ Εὐθήθιον ἀδελφ(ή) (ἀρτάβαι) β'  
 Παῦλος Σερή[νο]υ δι(ὰ) Ὠρίωνος γραμ(ματέως) (ἀρτάβαι) ε'

- 40 Εὐπορος Εὐπορίωνος (ἀρτάβαι) γ'  
 Πλουτιανὸς Εὐδαίμωνος (ἀρτάβαι) ε'  
 Σοφία Δημητρίου δι(ὰ) Θεοδώρου παρέδρου (ἀρτάβαι) δ'  
 γ(ίνονται) αἱ π(ροκείμεναι).
- κωμητῶν ὁμ[οί]ως λημ(μάτων) (ἀρτάβαι) νγς  
 ὦν
- 45 β' πάγου Σαδάλου δ[ι](ὰ) Ἰζᾶκ Ἀμόιτος (ἀρτάβαι) θ  
 γ'' πάγου (ἀρτάβαι) λβς  
 ὦν
- Ἐπισήμου δι(ὰ) Ὁρῶν Α. . . υτος (ἀρτάβαι) κ  
 50 Σύρων δι(ὰ) Ἀπόλλωνος Στρουθοῦ (ἀρτάβαι) ιβς  
 ζ' πάγου Ἰστρου δι(ὰ) Πα. . ( ) Καλαμέως (ἀρτάβαι) ιβ  
 γ(ίνονται) αἱ π(ροκείμεναι).
- ταμ( ) 5' πάγου Πακέρκ(η) Σενοπ(ώθεως) δι(ὰ) Διογένους (ἀρτάβαι) 5'  
 γ(ίνονται) ὁμοῦ cὺν λοιπ(ο)γραφ(οι)μέναις (ἀρτάβαι) φμβγ''.
- 1 λαμς'' 2 φλαουῖω 3 βουλ'' 4 οξυρυγχ<sup>-</sup> 6 μης 9 λοιπογράφας α<sup>σ</sup>  
 10 ρ)εγετο; (δίμοιρ.): β) παρ. 14 l. Εὐδαίμωνος; so in 41 15 δί 16 γ<sup>-</sup>αι 19 ἱσακ  
 21 ἱστρου, στρατι/ (ι cut by diagonal) 22 πινκ/ (κ cut by diagonal); l. πρίγκ(ιπος) 24 ταμ)  
 25 l. πορθμαρίου 26 λοιπ'γραφ/ (tail of φ cut by diagonal); γτο (tall iota crossed by horizontal).  
 27 λημς'' 28 λοιπογραφ/ (tail of φ cut by diagonal); λογ)? 29 ρ)εγενετο 33 l. ἡγεμονίων;  
 φλ'' 34 ἱερακουδος; l. Ἱερακοῦς ἡ καὶ Δημητρία 35 θυγ<sup>-</sup> 37 Second λ of Ἀπολλώνιος corr.  
 (from ο or ω) 38 αδελφ/ (tail of φ cut by diagonal) 39 γραμ) 51 Possibly ἱστρου  
 (cf. 21); πα. . ? 53 πακερκ/σενοπ' (κ cut by diagonal).

'After the consulship of Flavii Sergius and Nigrinianus, *virī clarissimi*.

'To Flavius Paeianus, strategus of the Oxyrhynchite, from Aurelius Colobus son of Theodorus, councillor of the same city, overseer(?) of the fort of the camp at Psobthis in the Oxyrhynchite nome. In response to your request for the accounts of the collection and delivery carried out by me for the present month Thoth and Phaophi, I have perforce drawn them up below and submit them, that Your Grace may be able to know. As follows:

'10th indiction: arrears of stock from the account for the  
 month of Mesore, wheat:

236 3/4 artabas.

'And added to this account:

92 2/3 artabas.

'Of which, from citizens

11 artabas.

'Of which: Plutianus son of Eudaemon

9 artabas.

... aena through Aphynchius

2 artabas.

'Total as aforesaid.

'From villagers likewise

51 2/3 artabas.

'Of which: 2nd pagus, Sadalu, through Isak son of Amois	24 artabas.
3rd pagus, Syron, through Papnutius son of Papontos	2/3 artaba.
7th pagus, Istru, through Copreus, soldier	3 artabas.
8th pagus, Teis, through Anubion, <i>princeps</i>	24 artabas.
'Total as aforesaid.	
'From confiscated land, 6th pagus, Pacerce and Senopothis, through Diogenes, ferryman	30 artabas.
'Total, together with arrears of stock:	329 5/12 artabas.

(Col. ii)

'Receipts of barley likewise: arrears of stock from the account for the month of Mesore:	272 1/3 artabas.
'And added to this account:	270 artabas.
'Of which, from citizens	210 1/2 artabas.
'Of which: Macrobius, former <i>praeses</i> (?), and Flavius Crescentius	140 artabas.
Hieracus alias Demetria	19 1/2 artabas.
Horigenia daughter of Philoxenus	8 artabas.
Achilles son of Philoserapis	18 artabas.
Apollonius son of Demetrius	6 artabas.
Sarapion alias Cteson, and Euethion his sister	2 artabas.
Paulus son of Serenus, through Horion, scribe	5 artabas.
Euporus son of Euporion	3 artabas.
Plutianus son of Eudaemon	5 artabas.
Sophia daughter of Demetrius, through Theodorus, assessor	4 artabas.
'Total as aforesaid.	
'Receipts from villagers likewise	53 1/2 artabas.
'Of which: 2nd pagus, Sadalu, through Isak son of Amois	9 artabas.
3rd pagus	32 1/2 artabas.
Of which:	
Episemu, through Horus son of A—	20 artabas.
Syron, through Apollon son of Struthus	12 1/2 artabas.
7th pagus, Istru, through Pa— son of Kalameus	12 artabas.
'Total as aforesaid.	



'From confiscated land, 6th pagus, Pacerce and

Senopothis, through Diogenes

6 artabas.

'Total, together with arrears of stock:

542 1/3 artabas.'

1 For the consuls (those of 350) see R. S. Bagnall *et al.*, *Consuls of the Later Roman Empire* pp. 234–7.

4 That Aurelius Colobus' position was as ἐπιμελητής is a guess, but is suggested by X 1252 17 and 24–5 where ἐπιμεληταί of a φρούριον are attested; the ἐπιμεληταί there are βουλευταί of Oxyrhynchus, as is Colobus (for the qualifications for the office see N. Lewis, *Compulsory Public Services* (*Pap. Flor.* XI) 27). ἐπιμελητοῦ in full would be far too long, and if correct must have been abbreviated, perhaps ἐπιμελ'.

κάστρων Ψώβθειας. See CPR V 13.3 n., LV 3793 9 n. The placing of this camp, still uncertain when CPR V 13 was published, in the Oxyrhynchite nome is useful information. For the various Oxyrhynchite localities called Psobthis see P. Pruneti, *I centri abitati dell'Ossirinchi* 223–6.

4–6 For the opening formula ἐπιζητοῦντί σοι ... παραδόσεως cf. P. Cair. Isid. 13.5–6 (AD 314).

8 ἐμμέλια. Cf. LIV 3758 65 n. and LIX 3981 1 n. In 3758 this honorific term is used for the logistes. Its use here for the strategus is unusual, but Paeanius had been logistes (*curator civitatis*) earlier, see introd. Cf. 4091 6 n.

11 ὧν. Most of the examples of this (here and 13, 18, 30, 32, 45, 48) fit awkwardly into the line spacing (with the exception of 18) and may possibly have been added in, though they are clearly by the same hand.

19 ff. For the villages named in the papyrus see P. Pruneti, *op. cit.* 160 (Καδάλου, 19 and 46); 186 (Σύρων, 20 and 50); 73 (Ἰστρου, 21 and 51); 203–4 (Τήεως, 22); 131–3 (Πακέρκη, 24 and 53); 168–9 (Κενοπώθειας, 24 and 53), and 47–8 (Ἐπισήμου, 49). Several of the pagus-placings are new information: Istru in the 7th pagus, Pacerce and Senopothis in the 6th, and Episemu in the 3rd. For the pagus-placings of Oxyrhynchite villages see P. Pruneti, *Aeg.* 69 (1989) 113–8.

33 ἀπὸ ἡγεμονίων recurs in P. Landlisten G, line 310; the named person, Anysius, is taken in PLRE I 79 to be a former *praeses* of the Thebaid. Another example is Nemesianus, ἀπὸ ἡγεμονίων (–είων? –ειών?), in SB I 1005 (for a revised text see J. Baillet, *Inscr. grecques et latines* (*Mém. de l'I.F.A.O. du Caire* 42 (1926)), no. 1293, and for the revised date see P. J. Sijpesteijn–K. A. Worp, *ZPE* 26 (1977) 270–1). He is accepted in PLRE I 621 as a *praeses*, of an unknown province. On this premise our Macrobius too would be a former *praeses* (of Augustamnica?). I do not think this can be right. There would be no difficulty in fitting him into the lists, see J. Lallemand, *L'administration civile* 251, 256–7 with the additions recorded by P. J. Sijpesteijn and K. A. Worp, *Tyche* 1 (1986) 193–4. Nevertheless the description for Macrobius is ἀπὸ ἡγεμονίων (should we read ἡγεμονίων?, not ἡγεμόνων). He features here in circumstances that seem far too humble for a former *praeses*, and note that he is not dignified with the name Flavius as is his associate Crescentius. It may be more prudent to regard Macrobius as former holder of some post in the *praeses*' office.

Flavius Crescentius: PSI I 90 of 364 attests a Flavius Crescentius as former *praepositus*, and a Crescentius features in the *mansio* accounts 4088 64 of c. 347–350. The former may be the same person as here; the latter ought not to be, since the accounts record him as only in transit through the nome.

34 The name Τερακοῦς appears not to have been attested previously.

42 Theodorus, assessor, has not been recorded before in *The Oxyrhynchus Papyri*.

REVEL COLES

#### 4090. PETITION TO THE RIPARIII

83/34(a)

14.5 × 20 cm

12 April 352

A property owner from an Oxyrhynchite village complains that when he wanted to rebuild on some sites he owned, he was prevented by some other villagers from completing the work.



Of the two *riparii*—both new names in this office—one, Flavius Gerontius, is unfamiliar: see further 4 n. The other is interesting: Flavius Julianus will be the former *curator* who went on to become syndic and then acting syndic; his known career is outlined in P. Oxy. LIV pp. 225–6. His continued activity at this much later date strengthens the likelihood of it being he who held a post (βενεφικιάριος?) in the office of the *praeses* of Augustamnica in 360 (PSI V 467). CPR V 12.1 n. suggests associating the offices of βενεφικιάριος τάξεως ἡγεμονίας and *stationarius* in the same person, and cf. XLIX 3480 1 n. Both *riparius* and *stationarius* had police responsibilities for the whole nome, allowing Julianus' later career stages to show a consistency of function. He would have been in his sixties, if not more, by 360.

The back is blank. There is one kollesis, not quite halfway along the lines. There is a quantity of loose débris from this text, some bits with ink traces.

ὑπ[ατ]είας τ[ῶν] δεσποτῶν ἡ[μῶν] Κωνσταντίου]  
 Α[ὐ]γοῦς του τὸ ες καὶ Κωνσταντίου τοῦ ἐ[πιφα—]  
 [ν]εστάτου Καίσαρος τὸ ας', Φαρμούθι ιζ.

Φλαουίοις Ἰ[ο]υλιανῶι καὶ Γερωντίω[ι] ἀμφοτέ—  
 5 ροις ῥιπαρίοις Ὁξυρυγχείτου  
 παρὰ Αὐρηλ[ί]ου Cινούθιος Ἀνουβίωνος ἀπὸ κώ—  
 μης Ν[ε]σμίμεως ἀ' πάγου τοῦ αὐτο[ῦ] νομο[ῦ].  
 κέκτημαι οἰκόπεδα ἐν τῇ αὐτῇ κώμῃ Νεσμί—  
 10 μ[ε]ι ἐλθόντα εἰς ἐμὲ ἀπὸ δικαίου ὠνῶν καὶ τὴν  
 [. . .]ων δεσποτίαν ἔχω ὑπ' ἐμέ· ἀλλὰ βουλο—  
 μένου μου ἀνοικοδομῆσαι καὶ ἐπανύειν θύρα(ν)  
 οὐκ οἶδα τίνι λόγῳ Πραοῦς καὶ Πιβήκισ καὶ ο[ἱ]  
 [αὐ]τῶν κοινω[νο]ὶ ἐπέσχαν μαι καὶ ἐκώλυσαν  
 [. . .] . . . . . α . . . . . [ . . . ] [c. 4 ]  
 15 [ἐπ]εἰ τοίνυν συνεστήκασι οἱ πρᾶται καὶ ἐνταῦθα  
 [τ]υγχάνου[σιν] ὑπ' ἐρ τοῦ μὴ διαμάχῃ γενέσθαι  
 ἐν τοῖς ἀγροῖ[ς], τού[του] χάριν τὰ [β]ιβλία ἐπιδί—  
 [δ]ωμ[ι] ἀξιῶν μετακληθῆν[αι] c. 12 ]  
 [. . .] . . . [ . ?κα]ὶ Πιβήκιν κ[αὶ] αἱ? c. 12 ]  
 20 [ c. 5 ] . . . [ . . . ] . . . ακροας . . . [ c. 12 ]  
 [ c. 34 ]  
 [ c. 10 ] . [ c. 23 ]

4 Ἰουλιανῶι      10 ὑπ      11 l. ἐπανοίγειν; θυρᾶ-      13 l. με      14 Seventh trace a descender  
 15 Or [ἐ]πί      16 υγ'χ; l. διαμάχην

'In the consulship of our masters Constantius Augustus for the 5th time and Constantius the most noble Caesar for the 1st time, Pharmouthi 17.

'To Flavii Julianus and Gerontius, both *riparii* of the Oxyrhynchite, from Aurelius Sinuthis son of Anubion from the village of Nesmimis in the 1st pagus of the same nome. I own property in the said village of Nesmimis which came to me by right of purchases, and their management is in my control; but when I wanted to rebuild, and to open up a door, for what reason I know not Praus and Pibekis and their associates restrained me and prevented ... Since, therefore, the sellers have come forward together and are here, that there may be no strife in the countryside, for this reason I present the petition, requesting that ... be summoned ...'

4 For Flavius Julianus see introd. Flavius Gerontius was obviously a person of some standing (as his being *riparius* implies anyway), who had held an important government post or had been in the army; see J. G. Keenan, *ZPE* 11 (1973) 33–63 and 13 (1974) 283–304. I have nevertheless not certainly identified him with any other Gerontius. He cannot be identical with the former *curator* Val. Ammonianus *al.* Gerontius, who was dead by 334; see P. Oxy. LIV p. 224.

5 For the different levels of *riparii* and the tenure of the Flaviate by *riparii* see P. Harr. II 218.2 n.

7 For Nesmimis see P. Pruneti, *I centri abitati dell' Ossirinichite* 118. For the pagus number see LV 3795 and P. Pruneti, *Aeg.* 69 (1989) 116.

8 For οἰκόπεδα see G. Husson, *Oikia* 209–11.

10 [α]ῦτῶν simply?

11 For the fuss that could be caused by the opening up of doors cf. the legal code XLVI 3285 38–42.

13 For the form ἐπέσχαν cf. F. T. Gignac, *Grammar* II p. 342.

18 Only the scantiest traces remain from the first half of the line, and what is transcribed is no more than conjecture.

REVEL COLES

#### 4091. REPORT TO THE STRATEGUS

119/22(a) + 39(b)

13.5 × 19 cm

352

A particular point of interest in this text is its added confirmation of the tenure of Paeanius as strategus, cf. 4089. The papyrus has suffered from abrasion and loss on the left (the sheet has been reassembled from dispersed fragments, as the inventory numbers indicate) and the damage prevents our full understanding of the circumstances of the report. An uncertainly identified official of the 1st pagus and a government surveyor jointly report about the transfer of some land, consequent on a petition from an Oxyrhynchite councillor (known from XVII 2110) and in accordance with the instructions of Flavius Areianus Alypius, known as *praeses* of Augustamnica in the previous year from CPR V 12. The circumstances in XLVI 3288 are somewhat similar. Various parcels of land are mentioned in 15 ff., several of them overgrown with reeds, but the loss of the line beginnings here makes it difficult to reconstruct the sense.

The back is blank.

- [ὑπατείας τῶν δ]εσποτῶν ἡμῶν Κων[στ]αντίου Α[υγού]στου τὸ ε΄  
 [καὶ Κωνσταντίου τ]οῦ ἐπιφανεστάτου Κα[ί]σαρος τὸ α΄.  
 [Φλαουίῳ ] Παιανίῳ στ[ρατ]ηγῶ Ὀξυρυγχείτου  
 [παρὰ Αὐρηλίων c. 4 ]θεου Εὐσεβίου [γρ]αμματέως ας πάγου  
 5 [καὶ c. 10 ]ῶτος δημοσίου γε[ωμέτρ]ου [τ]ῆς αὐτῆς πόλεως.  
 [ἐπεστάλημεν] ὑπὸ τῆς cῆς ἐμμελ[ε]ί[α]ς ἐκ βιβλιδίων ἐπιδό-  
 [θέν]τ[ω]ν σοι ὑ]πὸ Αὐρηλίου Θεώνος Α[μ]μωνίου βουλευτοῦ τῆς  
 [αὐτ]ῆς π[ό]λεως [ἀ]κρολούθως τοῖς προσταχθεῖσιν ὑπὸ τοῦ διασημοτάτου  
 [ἡγε]μ[ό]νος Φλ[αο]υίου Ἀρηϊανοῦ Ἀλυπίου ὥστε τὴν παράδοσιν  
 10 [ποι]εῖσθαι τῇ[ς] παρα. . . . . μενης αὐτοῦ γ[ῆ]ς ἐν πεδίοις κώμης  
 [Μερμ]έρθων π[ε]ρὶ Κευῶθων. ὅθεν ἐπὶ τοὺς ἀγροὺς παραγενό-  
 [μεν]οι . . . τε. . . ]υθα Ἰωάννην ἀπὸ Κευῶθως ἐπὶ κλην  
 [ . . . ] . . . . . [ . . . ] προκείμενον Θεῶνα ἐν τῷ Κοδιβίθνος  
 [ c. 5 ] . α. [ . . . ] . . . . . Τνεφερσίτος τῆς καὶ Σουσάννας  
 15 [ c. 21 ] ἀπὸ (ἀρουρῶν) . . . 5" διὰ κήνσου ἀφ' ὧν  
 [ c. 20 ] . ματος τῆς αὐτῆς Τνεφερσίτος κατὰ τὸ  
 [ c. 21 ] 10d" ἐν δὲ τῇ γενομένη ἀναμετρήσει  
 [ c. 20 ] ἡν (ἀρ.) ἡ" καὶ ἐκ βορρᾶ το[ύ]των ἐν θρύοις  
 [ c. 20 ] . αι ὑπὸ τὸν προκείμενον Θεῶνα ἀπὸ μὲν  
 20 [ c. 19 ] βορρᾶ τούτων ἐν θρύοις (ἀρ.) βL" τὰς δὲ  
 [ c. 26 ] . . ἀσπόρου ἐν θρύοις (ἀρ.) ἡ"  
 [ c. 19 ] διὸ προσφω]γοῦμεν.  
 (m. 2) [ c. 28 ] . . . . . βιβλία ὡς π(ρόκειται).  
 . . . . .

9 ἀρηϊανου

11 1. Κευῶθων

12 Ἰωάννην

13 1. προκείμενον; so in 19

23 ως)

'In the consulship of our masters Constantius Augustus for the 5th time and Constantius the most noble Caesar for the 1st time.

'To Flavius Paeianius, strategus of the Oxyrhynchite, from Aurelii ... theus son of Eusebius, secretary(?) of the 1st pagus, and ... son of ... os, public surveyor of the same city. We were sent orders by Your Grace, consequent on a petition presented to you by Aurelius Theon son of Ammonius, councillor of the same city, in accordance with the instructions of Flavius Areianus Alypius, *praeses, vir perfectissimus*, to make the transfer of his ... land in the territory of the village of Mermertha near Keuothis. Wherefore we went to the fields and ...'

<sup>2</sup> The month and day, omitted here, probably followed in a consular reprise (ὑπατείας τῆς αὐτῆς or similar) at the foot, as commonly.

4 ]θεου. Τιμο]θέου or Δωρο]θέου is most likely. Either way, this person has not been attested in *The Oxyrhynchus Papyri*.

The office he held is more puzzling. [γρ]αμματέως, while it might fit the traces, is no more than a guess; but the -εως termination is certain and I have failed to find any official title attested at pagus level that will fit.

6 For the use of the honorific epithet ἐμμέλεια cf. CPR V 12.5 n. Paeanius' former tenure as logistes (*curator civilatis*), see **4089** introd., perhaps entitles him to the epithet rather than does his current post of strategus. Cf. **4089** 8 n.

7 Aurelius Theon son of Ammonius, councillor, is likely to be the same person as his councillor homonym in XVII **2110** 3 of 370, where he is represented by his son Macrobius.

9 Flavius Arcianus Alypius was first attested as *praeses* of Augustamnica by CPR V 12 (5 July 351); see P. J. Sijpesteijn and K. A. Worp, *Tyche* 1 (1986) 194. The present text, only broadly dated to the consular year 352, now supplies our latest date for him in this office.

11 [Μερμ]έρθων. This village was in the upper toparchy, see P. Pruneti, *I centri abitati dell' Ossirinchi* 103. Its location in the 1st pagus (which might have been deduced from 4 here) has since been established, see P. Pruneti, *Aeg.* 69 (1989) 116.

For Κευῶθις see P. Pruneti, *I centri abitati dell' Ossirinchi* 84. Keuothis too probably belonged to the 1st pagus. The village does not feature in the list of pagi and villages by Pruneti just referred to, *Aeg.* 69 (1989) 116–8.

13 Κοδιβίθνος. A Thracian name, evidently that of a Ptolemaic cleruch and subsequently that of the κληρος which he had held. Cf. T. Corsten, *Die Inschriften von Prusa ad Olymum* I (1991) pp. 49–50.

14 Κουάννας. Among the *Oxyrhynchus Papyri* the name recurs in XVIII **2197** 34 (sixth century) and XXXI **2599** 22–3 (third–fourth century). For the implications of the name see the introd. to the latter text.

REVEL COLES

#### 4092. LEASE OF LAND

50 4B.24/J(1–3)a

12.3 × 14.1 cm

1 October 355

The upper portion, more or less intact, of a lease of land, which supplies a number of interesting details. The consular pair (1–2), although well enough known, had not been evidenced in papyri at the time of publication of R. S. Bagnall and K. A. Worp, *Chronological Systems of Byzantine Egypt* or R. S. Bagnall *et al.*, *Consuls of the Later Roman Empire*.

One of the lessors is Flavius Julianus, *ex-curator* of the Oxyrhynchite nome, for whom see P. Oxy. LIV pp. 225–6. Two further stages in his long career are now attested by **4086** (strategus in 345) and **4090** (*riparius* in 352). **4092** is the latest evidence for Julianus alive to be published, and usefully confirms that this is indeed the *ex-curator*; it must make much more likely the hypothesis that it may be the same Flavius Julianus in PSI V 467, holding a post in the office of the *praeses* of Augustamnica in 360, see P. Oxy. LIV p. 226. Note the retention of the status-designation Flavius, although Julianus has no stated official position here. The description of Julianus as ἀπὸ λογιστῶν, *ex-curator*, confirms the post of *curator* as the most significant he had held, despite his more recent appointments as syndic, strategus and *riparius*. The motivation for undertaking these other appointments remains to be understood, but it is not clear that they are to be considered as 'lesser' positions. Julianus' sister Sarapias



(4) was not previously known. Mention of their father Dioscurides is useful; this is the former two-times *curator* Valerius Dioscurides alias Julianus, see P. Oxy. LIV pp. 223–5, and the information confirms the guess in LIV 3755 27–8 n. that the *curator* Flavius Julianus was his son. Finally regarding this family, information about their landholdings in the nome is new, although hardly surprising.

A prominent manufacturer's (three layer) kollesis is visible on the front, in line 3 coming between Φλαουίω and Ἰουλιανῶ. The vertical fibres have been stripped from under the upper layer for 2 cm. The area where the papyrus actually attains four layers of thickness is no wider than 1 cm.

ὑπατείας Φλαουίων Ἀρβετίωνος καὶ Λολλιανοῦ  
τῶν λαμ(προτάτων), Φαῶφι γ'.  
Φλαουίω Ἰουλιανῶ ἀπὸ λογιστῶν καὶ τῇ  
ἀδελφῇ Σαραπιάδι ἐκ πατρὸς Διοσκουρίδου  
5 κατὰ τὸ ἐπιβάλλον ἐκάστῳ ἡμῖν μέρος  
γεουχοῦσι ἐν τῷ Ὀξυρυγχίτῃ (vac.)  
παρὰ Αὐρηλίου Πατερέως Χωοῦτος ἀπὸ κώ-  
μης Ἰσίου Παγγᾶ τ[ο]ῦ α['] πάγου. ἐκ[ο]νσίως ἐπιδέχο-  
μαι μισθώσασθαι πρὸς μόνον τὸ ἐνεστὸς  
10 ἔτος λβς" ἀπὸ τῶν ὑπαρχόντων ὑμῖν  
περὶ τ[ῇ]ν αὐτὴν κώμην ἐκ λιβὸς ἐποικίου  
Πατρώνθεως ἐδάφους καψαρίου λεγο-  
μένου ἀρούρας εἴκοσι εἰς ξυλαμὴν χόρτου  
καὶ ἀντὶ φόρου ἔχιν ὑμᾶς τοὺς γεουχοῦν-  
15 [τ]α[ς]. . . [ c. 12–13 ]. [ c. 8 ]. [ c. 4 ]

Back, along the fibres:

μισθωσις Πατερέως [?] (πρὸ) Ἰσίου Παγγᾶ [

1 ὑπατείας 2 λαμς"; ι of Φαῶφι crossed by a high horizontal, perhaps erased. Spot above γ  
possibly accidental. 6 l. γεουχοῦσι 8 ἰσιου; παγγᾶ? 10 l. ὑμῖν 14 l. ἔχειν  
16 α' ἰσιουπαγγᾶ

'In the consulship of Flavii Arbitio and Lollianus, *viri clarissimi*, Phaophi 3.

'To Flavius Julianus, former *curator*, and his sister Sarapias, whose father was Dioscurides, landowners in the Oxyrhynchite nome in accordance with the half share falling to each, from Aurelius Patereus, son of Chooos, from the village of Isiu Panga in the 1st pagus. Willingly I undertake to lease for only the present 32nd year, from



your property near the same village to the west of the farmstead of Patbonthis, twenty aruras of a plot known as "the bath attendant's", for the planting of grass, and instead of rent you the landholders are to have ...'

(Back) 'Lease of Patereus from Isiu Panga ...'

1-2 For these consuls see R. S. Bagnall *et al.*, *Consuls of the Later Roman Empire* 244-5.

7 For the name Patereus cf. XIX 2232 4 (genitive Πατερέως) and 18 (nominative Πατερήους), and see the note there. (This is not the same person.) Another Oxyrhynchite of this name appears in PSI X 1106-7.

8 For the village of Isiu Panga see P. Pruneti, *I centri abitati dell' Ossirinchi* 71-2. Its pagus location is new information.

10 The 32nd year of Constantius II = 355/6. See R. S. Bagnall and K. A. Worp, *Chronological Systems of Byzantine Egypt* 75.

11-12 ἐποικίου Πατβώνθειας. Apparently an unattested location.

12-13 ἐδάφους καψαρίου λεγομένου. Another unattested location.

REVEL COLES

# INDEXES

Figures in small raised type refer to fragments, small roman numerals to columns. Square brackets indicate that a word is wholly or substantially restored by conjecture or from other sources, round brackets that it is expanded from an abbreviation or a symbol. An asterisk denotes a word not recorded in *LSJ* or *Suppl.* The article is not indexed.

## I. THEOLOGICAL TEXTS

- ἀγιάζειν [4010 12]  
 ἀκέραιος [4009 R5]  
 ἀκολουθεῖν [4009 V14?]  
 ἀλλά [4010 18] 4011 3?  
 ἀλληλουῖα 4011 (3)?, [(7)]?  
 ἀνιστάναι 4011 5, 10  
 ἀπό [4010 19] 4011 11  
 ἀποδιδόναι 4011 6  
 ἀποκτείνειν [4009 R16–17?]  
 ἄρτος 4010 14  
 ἀύνετος 4011 4?  
 αὐτός 4009 [R9], R13, V10 4011 2, 4, 6, 9, 11  
 (bis), [13]?  
 ἀφιέναι 4009 [V8?], [V13?] 4010 15  
  
 βασιλεία 4010 13  
  
 γῆ 4010 14 4011 5  
 γνωστός 4011 1  
  
 δέ 4009 V4? 4011 5  
 δεσπότης 4010 8  
 δι- 4009 R14  
 δια- 4009 V7  
 διασκορπίζειν 4011 10  
 διό [4009 R14–5?]  
 δῶρον 4011 7  
  
 εἰς 4009 R9  
 ἐγώ 4009 R11 [4010 6?]  
 εἶναι 4009 R7 4011 1  
 εἰρήνην 4011 2  
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 ἐκ 4011 5, 10  
 ἐκ(-) 4009 V10  
 ἐκεῖ 4011 8  
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 ἐν 4010 12, [13] 4011 1 (bis), [2]  
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 ἐχθρός 4011 11  
  
 ἡμεῖς 4010 11, 14, 15, [15], 16, [16], 17, 18, [19]  
 ἡσυχάζειν 4011 5  
  
 θάνατος 4011 12  
 θεός (4010 9) 4011 (1), (10)  
 θερικμός 4009 R4  
  
 Ἰουδαῖος 4011 1  
 Ἰσραήλ 4011 1  
  
 καὶ 4009 [R6], [R17] 4010 [6?], 9, 10 (bis), 15,  
 16, [17] 4011 4, 5, 6, 7, 9 (ter), 12  
 καρδία 4011 4  
 καταξιοῦν 4010 11  
 κατοικίζειν 4011 2?  
 κράτος 4011 8  
 κυβερνᾶν [4010 10?]  
 κύριος (4009 V13)  
  
 λέγειν 4009 R11  
 λύκος 4009 R8  
  
 μέγας 4011 1, 2  
 μέσος 4009 R8  
 μετά 4011 6  
 μή [4009 R15]  
 μηκέτι [4009 R18]  
  
 νεκρός 4011 5, 10  
  
 ὄνομα 4009 V12? 4011 2  
 ὄπλον 4011 9  
 ὄραν 4011 5  
 ὅτι 4009 V8

οὐ- **4009** R13  
οὐδέ **4009** V4?  
οὐδεῖς [**4009** R13-4?]  
οὐκέτι **4009** R13  
οὖν (**4009** R9)  
οὐρανός (**4010** 12)  
ὀφείλημα [**4010** 16]  
ὀφειλέτης [**4010** 17]  
  
παντ- **4010** 8  
παράκλησις [**4010** 9]  
παρέχειν [**4009** V5?]  
πᾶς **4010** 8?, 9 **4011** 5, 10  
πειρασμός [**4010** 18]  
ποιεῖν [**4009** R14]  
πόλεμος **4011** 9  
πολύς **4011** 3  
πονηρός **4010** 19  
πραῦτης **4011** 6  
προ- **4009** V16?  
προσφέρειν **4011** 7  
πρόσωπον **4011** 11  
πτίσσειν **4011** 13?

ῥομφαία **4011** 9  
  
σήμερον **4010** 15  
Σιών **4011** 2  
σπαράττειν **4009** [R10?], [R12?]  
σταυροῦν **4011** 4, 9  
κύ **4009** V4?, **4010** [7?], 13  
συντρίβειν **4011** 8  
  
ταράττειν **4011** 3, [12?]  
τόξον **4011** 8  
  
ὕμεις [**4009** R15]  
  
φοβεῖσθαι [**4009** R15-6?]  
φόβος **4011** 6  
φρόνιμος **4009** R6  
  
χμγ **4011** 0  
  
ὥς **4009** R5, [R7] **4010** 13  
ὥσπερ **4010** 16

## II. MENANDER

Ἀβρότονον **4021**<sup>1</sup> (154), (158), [<sup>2</sup> 157] [**4022** 436] δάκνειν **4021**<sup>3</sup> 21?  
(superscript) δακρύνειν [**4025** 3]  
ἀγαθός **4021**<sup>1</sup> 159, <sup>3</sup> 8 δέ **4021**<sup>1</sup> 153?, 161, <sup>3</sup> 13?  
ἄγχειν **4021**<sup>1</sup> 156? δεῖν **4021**<sup>3</sup> 16  
ἄγχοῦ **4021**<sup>1</sup> 156? δεσπότης [**4023** 5?]  
ἀεὶ **4021**<sup>1</sup> 160? δεῦρο **4025** 6  
ἀλλά **4021**<sup>1</sup> 158 Δημέας [**4025** 3]  
ἄν [**4022** 428?] δίκαιος [**4021**<sup>1</sup> 156?]  
ἀνιστάναι [**4021**<sup>3</sup> 9?] Διόνυκος [**4023** 655?]  
ἀπαλλάττειν [**4021**<sup>3</sup> 7?]  
ἀπαλλαγὴ [**4021**<sup>3</sup> 7?]  
ἄπας **4021**<sup>1</sup> 162 **4024** 2  
ἀποδιδόναι **4021**<sup>1</sup> 153? [**4022** 443?]  
ἀπολαμβάνειν [**4023** 662?]  
ἀπολλύναι **4021**<sup>3</sup> 11  
Ἀπόλλων **4024** 1  
ἄσκος **4021**<sup>1</sup> 156?  
αὐτός **4021**<sup>3</sup> 14 [**4025** 5?]  
  
βαδίζειν **4024** 6  
  
γάρ **4021**<sup>3</sup> 6  
γέ **4021**<sup>1</sup> 155? [**4024** 4]  
γέρων **4021**<sup>1</sup> 155?  
γίγνεσθαι **4021**<sup>3</sup> 8  
γυνή [**4021**<sup>3</sup> 19?]  
  
ἐαυτοῦ [**4025** 5?]  
ἐγώ **4021**<sup>3</sup> 13? [**4023** 659] **4024** [4], 8  
ἐθέλειν [**4021**<sup>3</sup> 14]  
εἰδέναι **4021**<sup>3</sup> 10  
εἶναι [**4022** 439] **4024** 2, [4], 4, [8?]  
εἰς **4024** 1  
εἰσιέναι **4021**<sup>1</sup> 161  
ἐν [**4024** 7]  
ἐνθαδί **4024** 9  
ἐνοχλεῖν **4021**<sup>3</sup> 15  
ἐξάγειν [**4025** 2?]  
ἐπὶ **4024** 6  
ἔρωσ [**4021**<sup>1</sup> 155?]  
ἐρωτᾶν [**4021**<sup>1</sup> 155?]  
ἔχειν **4021**<sup>3</sup> 10

ζάκορος **4024** 5

ἡ **4026** 9

ἡμέρα [**4022** 440]

ἦν **4022** 391

θάλαττα **4024** 2

θεά **4022** 438

θίς [**4024** 32]

θυγάτηρ [**4025** 62]

θυγάτριον [**4025** 62]

ἴδιος **4022** (293), (294?) (marg.)

καθεύδειν **4021** <sup>3</sup> 9

καί **4024** [2], 4

καταλλάττειν [**4022** 425]

κατοικίζειν [**4024** 1]

κάτω [**4024** 22]

Κλεινίας [**4025** 4]

κοσμεῖν **4024** 5

Κράτεια [**4025** 2]

λαλεῖν **4021** <sup>3</sup> 113

λέγειν **4021** <sup>1</sup> 155? bis? [**4023** 664?] **4024** 8, 10

λόγος [**4023** 72]

μέν **4023** [658?], hair side [5?]

μήτηρ **4024** 7

μικρός **4025** 4

ναιχί **4024** 6

νάμα [**4024** 7]

ναός **4024** 5

νή [**4024** 4]

νύξ [**4021** <sup>1</sup> 157?]

οἶος [**4022** 397] [**4024** 1]

ὀμνύναι [**4023** 660?]

ὄνειρος **4026** 8

Ὀνήσιμος **4022** [382], [391?], [395], (435), [445]

(all suprascript)

ὀπηνίκα **4018** 529

ὀρᾶν [**4024** 3]

ὄς **4021** <sup>3</sup> 10 [**4022** 428?]

ὄκος [**4022** 428?]

ὄστις **4024** [4], 4

οὐ **4021** <sup>1</sup> 158 **4025** 4

οὐθεὶς [**4021** <sup>3</sup> 16]

οὐκοῦν [**4022** 384]

οὖν **4021** <sup>1</sup> 161

οὔτος [**4019** 740?] [**4021** <sup>1</sup> 162] **4024** 6

οὔτως **4021** <sup>1</sup> 159

παιδίον **4024** 3

παρατρίβειν **4021** <sup>3</sup> 4

πέμπειν **4023** 661?

πέρας [**4021** <sup>3</sup> 62]

πέτρα **4024** 2, 8

πλησίον [**4024** 6]

ποιεῖν [**4023** 658]

ποιμήν **4022** [392] cancelled, [393], [394] cancelled  
(all suprascript)

πολύς **4024** 3 (suprascript)

ποτέ [**4021** <sup>1</sup> 160?] **4024** 4

πού **4024** 8?

ποῦ **4024** 8?

προγαμεῖν **4026** 10

προῖξ [**4021** <sup>1</sup> 152]

πρός **4021** <sup>1</sup> 151?

προσδοκᾶν [**4022** 432]

ρεαντοῦ [**4025** 5?]

σιμίας [**4023** 62]

Σμικρίνης [**4021** <sup>1</sup> 161] **4022** [(293)], [(294)?]

στιφρός [**4022** 385]

σύ [**4024** 4]

Συρίσκος **4022** [384], [392], [394], [442] (all  
suprascript)

σώζειν [**4022** 397]

ταχύς **4019** 740?]

τε [**4022** 397]

τίς **4024** [32], [8?]

τόπος [**4024** 1]

τρίτος **4022** 440

τυγχάνειν [**4021** <sup>3</sup> 17?] [**4023** 659]

ὔδωρ **4024** 6

ὑμεῖς **4021** <sup>3</sup> 15

ὑψηλός **4024** 10

φίλος [**4024** 7]

φοβερός **4024** 3

φράζειν [**4021** <sup>1</sup> 164]

φωρά **4021** <sup>3</sup> 5?

χαίρειν **4024** 3

Χαιρέστρατος **4021** <sup>1</sup> [(157)], [(160)] (both sup-  
rascript) [**4023** 660]

χώρα **4021** <sup>3</sup> 5?

## III. HYPOTHESES

ἀγαθός [4020 6]  
 ἄγειν [4017<sup>2</sup> ii 11]  
 αἰσχύνειν 4020 10  
 ἄλλος [4017<sup>2</sup> ii 19]  
 ἄπας 4020 8  
 ἀποστέλλειν 4017<sup>2</sup> ii 20  
 ἀρχή [4017<sup>2</sup> ii 3]  
 αὐτός 4017<sup>2</sup> ii 7, [19], [3<sup>2</sup>]  
 ἀφελής 4020 12  
 ἀφηγείσθαι [4017<sup>2</sup> ii 11]  
  
 Βάκχη 4017<sup>2</sup> ii [3], [18]  
 βασιλεία 4017<sup>2</sup> ii 17  
 Βελλεροφόντης [4017<sup>4</sup> 8]  
 βλέπειν 4017<sup>13</sup> 2?  
  
 γαμετή 4020 11  
 γάρ [4017<sup>2</sup> ii 9] [4020 7]  
 γέρων [4020 12]  
 γηραλέος 4017<sup>2</sup> ii 13  
 γυνή [4017<sup>2</sup> ii 9–10]  
  
 δέ 4017<sup>2</sup> ii 5, 7, [19], <sup>3</sup> 2 4020 10  
 δεῖν 4017<sup>2</sup> ii 19  
 δίκαιος [4020 14?]  
 Διόνυκος [4017<sup>2</sup> ii 6]  
 δρῶμα 4020 6  
 δύο 4020 9  
 δυσφορεῖν [4017<sup>2</sup> ii 17]  
  
 εἶναι 4017<sup>2</sup> ii 7  
 ἐμμανής [4017<sup>2</sup> ii 8–9]  
 ἐν 4017<sup>2</sup> ii 6  
 ἐπί 4017<sup>2</sup> ii 14, 19  
 ἐπιτρέπειν [4020 2]  
 ἐταίρα 4020 12  
 ἐφιστάναι 4017<sup>2</sup> ii 8  
  
 Ζεύς [4017<sup>2</sup> ii 4]  
  
 ἦδη 4017<sup>2</sup> ii 13  
 ἦθος 4020 8  
 ἦκειν [4017<sup>2</sup> ii 4]  
  
 θειασμός [4017<sup>2</sup> ii 11]  
 θεός 4017<sup>2</sup> ii [7], 15, [19] 4020 5  
 θεράπων [4020 14]  
 Θῆβαι 4017<sup>2</sup> ii 6  
 Θηβαῖος 4017<sup>2</sup> ii [4], [9]

θιασμός *see* θειασμός  
 θυγάτηρ 4017<sup>2</sup> ii 10  
  
 Κάδμος 4017<sup>2</sup> ii 10, [12]  
 καί [4017<sup>2</sup> ii 17]  
 Κιθαιρών [4017<sup>2</sup> ii 12]  
 κόσμος 4020 11  
  
 λέγειν 4017<sup>2</sup> i 4?  
 λογισμός 4020 13  
  
 μέν 4017<sup>2</sup> ii [12], [18] 4020 9  
  
 ὄδε [4017<sup>2</sup> ii 4]  
 ὄς 4017<sup>1</sup> 4, [3], 10  
 οὐ [4017<sup>2</sup> ii 7] 4020 3  
 οὗτος 4017<sup>4</sup> 7], <sup>5</sup> 3?  
  
 παῖς 4017<sup>2</sup> ii 4  
 παραγίνεσθαι [4017<sup>1</sup> 2]  
 παραλαμβάνειν [4017<sup>2</sup> ii 16]  
 πείθειν 4017<sup>1</sup> 3  
 περιγίνεσθαι 4020 7  
 Πηλεὺς 4017<sup>1</sup> 5  
 ποιεῖν 4017<sup>2</sup> ii 9  
 πρέπειν 4017<sup>2</sup> ii 1, [8]  
 πρὸς [4017<sup>2</sup> ii 12] [4020 4]  
 προσήκειν 4017<sup>2</sup> ii 6  
  
 Σεμέλη 4017<sup>2</sup> ii 13  
 Σθενεβοία [4017<sup>4</sup> 6]  
 σύ [4020 4]  
 συγγένεια [4017<sup>2</sup> ii 14]  
 συλλαμβάνειν [4017<sup>2</sup> ii 18]  
 συμφορά [4017<sup>4</sup> 1?]  
 σώφρων [4020 9]  
  
 τιμωρία [4017<sup>2</sup> ii 7–8]  
 τις 4017<sup>2</sup> ii 18  
 τοιοῦτος [4017<sup>2</sup> ii 1–2?]  
 τόπος 4017<sup>4</sup> 7  
 τρόφιμος [4020 3–4]  
  
 ὑπόθεσις 4017<sup>2</sup> ii 5  
  
 φάναι [4017<sup>2</sup> ii 7]  
 φιλάργυρος 4020 13  
  
 χθών 4017<sup>2</sup> ii 5



## IV. RULERS AND REGNAL YEARS

## ANTONINUS PIUS

Αὐτοκράτωρ Καῖσαρ Τίτος Αἴλιος Ἀδριανὸς Ἀντωνῖνος  
 Σεβαστὸς Εὐσεβής (oath formula, 154/5?) [4056  
 2–5]

Ἀντωνῖνος Καῖσαρ ὁ κύριος (year 16) [4058 26];  
 (year 17) 4056 12–3 [4057 6–7]; (year 21,  
 without titulature) 4058 13, 22; (year 22, with-  
 out titulature) 4058 18

## COMMODUS

Αὐτοκράτωρ Καῖσαρ Μάρκος Αὐρήλιος Κόμμοδος  
 Ἀντωνῖνος Σεβαστὸς Ἀρμενιακὸς Μηδικὸς Παρθικὸς  
 Καρματικὸς Γερμανικὸς Μέγιστος (year 24) 4063  
 23–6 4064 21–6 4065 11–5 4066 28–31  
 4067 24–30

Μάρκος Αὐρήλιος Κόμμοδος Ἀντωνῖνος Καῖσαρ ὁ  
 κύριος (year 24) 4066 9–11  
 τὴν Αὐρηλίου Κομμόδου Ἀντωνίνου Καίσαρος τοῦ  
 κυρίου τύχην (oath formula, 183) 4063 10–11

## MARCUS AURELIUS AND LUCIUS VERUS

Αὐτοκράτωρ Καῖσαρ Μάρκος Αὐρήλιος Ἀντωνῖνος  
 Σεβαστὸς καὶ Αὐτοκράτωρ Καῖσαρ Λούκιος Αὐρήλιος  
 Οὐῆρος Σεβαστός (year 3) [4061 11–13]

(year 1, without titulature) 4060 [56], 65, 78,  
 91, [108]

## SEPTIMIUS SEVERUS AND CARACALLA

Αὐτοκράτωρ Καῖσαρ Λούκιος Σεπτίμιος Σεουήρος  
 Εὐσεβὴς Περτίναξ Ἀραβικὸς Ἀδιαβηνικὸς Παρθικὸς  
 Μέγιστος καὶ Αὐτοκράτωρ Καῖσαρ Μάρκος Αὐρήλιος  
 Ἀντωνῖνος Εὐσεβὴς Σεβαστός (year 8?) 4068 [1–5],  
 12 (names not repeated), [16] (names not  
 repeated)

## CARINUS AND NUMERIANUS

τὴν θείαν τύχην τῶν κυρίων ἡμῶν Μάρκων Αὐρηλίων  
 Καρίνου καὶ Νουμεριανοῦ Αὐτοκρατόρων (oath  
 formula) [4072 6–8]

SEVERUS AND MAXIMINUS *see* INDEX V (AD 307)

CONSTANTINE AND CONSTANTINE CAESAR *see* INDEX V (AD 320)

CONSTANTINE I (posthumous), CONSTANTINE II, CONSTANTIUS II, CONSTANS

4084 13 (year 33, 23, 15, 6 = AD 338/9; no titulature)

## CONSTANTIUS AND CONSTANS

[4085 9] [4086 5–6] (oath formulas, without  
 names); *see also* INDEX V (AD 339)

CONSTANTIUS AND CONSTANTIUS CAESAR (GALLUS) *see* INDEX V (AD 352)

## V. CONSULS

AD 307 ἐπὶ ὑπάτων τῶν κυρίων ἡμῶν Αὐτοκράτορος  
 Σευήρου Σεβαστοῦ καὶ Μαξιμίνου τοῦ ἐπιφανεστάτου  
 Καίσαρος [4074 1–2]  
 AD 320 ὑπατείας τῶν δεσποτῶν ἡμῶν Κωνσταντίνου  
 Σεβαστοῦ τὸ σ' καὶ Κωνσταντίνου τοῦ ἐπιφανεστάτου  
 Καίσαρος τὸ α' [4076 1–2]  
 AD 327 ὑπατείας Φλαουίου Κωνσταντίου καὶ  
 Οὐαλερίου Μαξίμου τῶν λαμπροτάτων ἐπάρχων  
 [4078 1–2]  
 AD 328 Φλαυίου Ἰανουαρίνου καὶ Οὐεττίου Ἰούστου  
 τῶν λαμπροτάτων 4079 19–20 (ὑπατείας appar-  
 ently omitted)  
 ὑπατείας Φλαυίου Ἰανουαρίνου καὶ Οὐεττίου Ἰούστου  
 τῶν λαμπροτάτων 4080 20–22  
 AD 330 ὑπατείας Φλαυίου Γαλλικανοῦ καὶ  
 Οὐαλερίου Συμμάχου τῶν λαμπροτάτων 4082 1–2  
 AD 337 ὑπατείας Φλαυίου Φηλικιανοῦ καὶ Φαβίου  
 Τιτιανοῦ τῶν λαμπροτάτων [4083 1–2]

AD 339 ὑπατείας τῶν δεσποτῶν ἡμῶν Κωνσταντίου  
 τὸ βς' καὶ Κώνσταντος τὸ ας' Αὐγούστου [4084 1–2]  
 ὑπατείας τῶν δεσποτῶν ἡμῶν Κωνσταντίου τὸ β' καὶ  
 Κώνσταντος τὸ α' τῶν Αὐγούστου [4085 1–3]  
 AD 345 μετὰ τὴν ὑπατείαν Φλαυίου Λεοντίου  
 ἐπάρχου τοῦ ἱεροῦ πραιτωρίου καὶ Φλαυίου  
 Καλλουστίου τῶν λαμπροτάτων [4086 1–2]  
 AD 351 μετὰ τὴν ὑπατείαν Φλαυίου Σεργίου καὶ  
 Νιγρινιανοῦ τῶν λαμπροτάτων 4089 1  
 AD 352 ὑπατείας τῶν δεσποτῶν ἡμῶν Κωνσταντίου  
 Αὐγούστου τὸ ες' καὶ Κωνσταντίου τοῦ ἐπιφανεστά-  
 του Καίσαρος τὸ ας' [4090 1–3]  
 ὑπατείας τῶν δεσποτῶν ἡμῶν Κωνσταντίου Αὐγούστου  
 τὸ ε' καὶ Κωνσταντίου τοῦ ἐπιφανεστάτου Καίσαρος  
 τὸ α'' [4091 1–2]  
 AD 355 ὑπατείας Φλαυίου Ἀρβετίωνος καὶ  
 Λολλιανοῦ τῶν λαμπροτάτων 4092 1–2

## VI. INDICATIONS

nth indiction [4086 8]?

10th indiction 4089 8

## VII. MONTHS AND DAYS

## (a) MONTHS

Ἀδριανός (4064 26) 4065 15 4066 32  
 Ἀθύρ 4063 26 4087 84, [94], 94, [97] bis, [100],  
 100, 102, [103], [106], 106, [110], 110, [114],  
 114, [117], 117, [120] bis, [126], [127], 130,  
 [130], 133, [133], 136, [136], [141], [142],  
 [150] bis  
 Ἐπεῖφ 4060 14, [68] cancelled, 78, [81] cancelled,  
 [96] cancelled, [120?] cancelled  
 Θώθ 4069 1 4082 2 4084 12 [4087 3] 4089 6  
 Μεσορή [4060 39] 4061 13 4089 9, 28  
 Μεχέρ 4058 21 4066 9 4078 2  
 Παῦνι 4060 [65], 91 4075 20 4088 [2], 12, [17],  
 [25], 25, 29 bis, 34 bis, 38 bis, 41, 42, 46, [46],  
 51, [57], 57

Παχών 4079 21 4084 [2], 13 [4085 3]

Τῦβι 4066 9 4067 30

Φαμενώθ [4058 13]

Φαρμούθι 4068 21 4077 6 4090 3

Φάωφι [4060 56] 4087 [3], [6] bis, [9] bis, [12],  
 12, [15] bis, [18] bis, [21] bis, [24] bis, [27] bis,  
 [30] bis, [33] bis, 36, [39], [42] bis, [44], [45],  
 [47], [48], 51, [51], [53–4], [54], [56], [57],  
 [59], [60], 63, [63], 66, [70], 71, 74 bis, [77], 77,  
 [87] bis, [90], 90 4089 7 4092 2

Χοιάκ 4087 157, [160], 160 bis, [163], 163, 165,  
 [166], [169], 169, [172], 172, [175] bis, [178],  
 178, 180, 181, 184 bis, [187], 187

## (b) DAY

Διός 4075 1

## VIII. DATES

- 28 September–27 October 160 **4060** 56  
 26 May–24 June 161 **4060** 65  
 22 June 161 **4060** 91  
 27 June 161 **4060** 78  
 29 June 161 **4060** 14  
 2 July? 161 **4060** 81, 96, 119  
 4 July? 161 **4060** 68  
 30 July 163 **4061** 11–13  
 29 October–27 November 183 **4063** 23–6  
 15 December 183 **4064** 21–6  
 22 December 183 **4065** 11–5  
 24 December 183 **4066** 27–32  
 16 January 184 **4067** 24–30  
 27 March–25 April 200 [**4068** 21]  
 4 June 318? **4075** 20  
 5 June 318? **4075** 1  
 9 February 327 **4078** 1–2  
 3 May 328 **4079** 19–21  
 9 September 330 **4082** 1–2  
 6 May 339 **4084** 1–2  
 12 April 352 [**4090** 1–3]  
 1 October 355 **4092** 1–2

## IX. PERSONAL NAMES

- Ἀβνήσιος* f. of Apollonius former high priest of the city of the Phacusites **4063** 20, 29  
*Ἀγαθὸς Δαίμων* f. of Aurelia Nonna **4084** 4  
*Ἀγχιρέμφις* s. of Horus **4060** 20  
*Ἄδραστος* f. of Apollon (**4060** 33)  
*Ἀδριανός* *see* Index IV s.v. Antoninus Pius, VII (a)  
*Ἀθηνίων* **4060** 28  
*Ἀθηνόδωρος* f. of Horus and s. of Horus, gd.-s. of Heriupos (**4060** 92)  
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 Σαραπίων s. of Panetbeuis **4060** 21  
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Τανετβεῦς m. of Haronnophris (**4060** 17)

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Τεταθῆρις m. of Horion **4060** 18

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Τιθοῆς f. of Psenobastis **4058** 22

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Τνεφερσίς alias Susanna **4091** 14, 16

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Τοθοῆς s. of Haronnophris, gd.-s. of Horus [**4060** 22]

Τοθοῆς s. of Tothoes, gd.-s. of Imuthes **4060** 21

Τούρβων s. of Haronsis, and of his m. Thaseis, from Tohu (?) **4065** 7

Τριάδελφος [**4075** 3–4?]

Τσενῆσις m. of Psenobastis [**4058** 23]

Φάβαλος s. of his m. Tkollauthis, from Heroopolis, resident in Caene **4067** 12–13

Φάβιος Τιτιανός *vir clarissimus*, consul 337 [**4083** 1–2]

Φαῆσις the elder, freedman of Teos s. of Phthäys, from Rhise **4066** 21

Φανίας s. of Amois, f. of Amois **4059** 8

Φανίας: Sarapion alias Phantias, strategus of the Arabian nome **4070** 1

Φερωούθις **4056** 20 (or place name?)

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Φθάῦς s. of Harpocras and of his m. Tiathres, gd.-s. of Petethymis, from Rhise **4066** 26

Φιεβῶς f. of Piesies, h. of Thabeis **4066** 17

Φιλόξενος f. of Horigenia **4089** 35

Φιλοσέραπις f. of Achilles **4089** 36

Φιμήνις f. of Anthakis, h. of Taphiomis **4067** 20

Φλάουῖος Ἀρβετίων *vir clarissimus*, consul 355 **4092** 1

Φλάουῖος Ἀρηϊανός Ἀλύπιος *praeses*, *vir perfectissimus* **4091** 9

Φλάουῖος Ἀχιλλεύς *curator civitatis* of the Oxyrhynchite **4077** 5

Φλάουῖος Γαλλικανός *vir clarissimus*, consul 330 **4082** 1  
Φλάουῖος Γερόντιος *riparius* of the Oxyrhynchite **4090** 4

Φλάουῖος Διονύσιος h. of Aurelia Nonna, biarch of a *numerus* of *equites Mauri scutarii comitatenses* **4084** 5, 8 (only Dionysius)

Φλάουῖος Εὐλόγιος *curator civitatis* of the Oxyrhynchite **4085** 4

Φλάουῖος Εὐσέβιος *curator civitatis* of the Oxyrhynchite [**4083** 3] **4084** 3

Φλάουῖος Θαννυᾶς *curator civitatis* of the Oxyrhynchite [**4079** 1] [**4080** 1]

Φλάουῖος Ἰανουαρῖνος *vir clarissimus*, consul 328 **4079** 19 **4080** 20

Φλάουῖος Ἰουλιανός strategus of the Oxyrhynchite **4086** 3; the same as *riparius* of the Oxyrhynchite **4090** 4; the same, s. of Dioscurides, as former *curator* **4092** 3

Φλάουῖος Κρησκέντιος **4089** 33

Φλάουῖος Κωνστάντιος *vir clarissimus*, *praefectus* (*praetorio*), consul 327 **4078** 1

Φλάουῖος Λευκάδιος s. of Leucadius, *curator civitatis* of the Oxyrhynchite **4078** 3

Φλάουῖος Λεόντιος prefect of the sacred praetorium, *vir clarissimus*, consul 344 [**4086** 1]

Φλάουῖος Λολλιανός *vir clarissimus*, consul 355 **4092** 1

Φλάουῖος Νιγρινιανός *vir clarissimus*, *comes* **4088** (63), [(71)], consul 350 **4089** 1

Φλάουῖος Παϊάνιος strategus of the Oxyrhynchite [**4089** 2] [**4091** 3]

Φλάουῖος Καλ- ? (**4088** [11?], 61)

Φλάουῖος Καλλούστιος *vir clarissimus*, consul 344 [**4086** 2]

Φλάουῖος Κέργιος *vir clarissimus*, consul 350 **4089** 1

Φλάουῖος Φηλικιανός *vir clarissimus*, consul 337 [**4083** 1]

Φλάουῖος Φηλικίσσιμος *vir perfectissimus*, *dux* (**4088** 56)

Φοιβάμμων assistant **4011** introd.

Φωκίων strategus of the Oxyrhynchite **4059** 2, 15 **4060** [40], 69, 83, 98, [121] **4061** 6

Χαιρήμων strategus of the Lower Diopolite [**4060** 121]

Χριστόδωρος deacon **4011** introd.

Χωοῦς f. of Aurelius Patereus **4092** 7

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Ψεν- f. of Tithoes **4058** 23

Ψενανοῦβις f. of X, h. of Tanaabinis, s. of Path- **4058** 14 (corrected)

Ψενησι- **4060** 117

Ψενοβάστις s. of Tithoes and Tsenesis, grandson of Psen- [**4058** 22]

Ψεν- f. of Peteharmotes **4060** 16

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Ψόϊς s. of his m. Thaesis d. of Pachothos, of Eleira  
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Ψόϊς village elder, carrying out the functions of  
comogrammateus of Rhise 4066 3, 32

Ψόϊς the younger, f. of Casyllas, h. of Thaesis  
4066, 23

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Ὠριγένης royal scribe of the Heliopolite 4060 97

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Ὠρίων s. of his m. Teteatheris (4060 18)

Ὠρος comogrammateus 4065 16

Ὠρος f. of Anchiremphis 4060 20

Ὠρος f. of Haronnophris, gd.-f. of Tothoes 4060 22

Ὠρος s. of A- 4089 49

Ὠρος s. of Athenodorus, gd.-s. of Horus, gtgds. of  
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Ὠρος s. of Diogenes [4060 26]

Ὠρος s. of Heriupos, f. of Athenodorus, gr.-f. of  
Horus 4060 92

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## X. GEOGRAPHICAL

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21] 4072 6 4078 7 [4086 9?]

Ἀντιόχεια 4088 [50], [55]

Ἀραβία (4063 1) (4064 1) 4066 2 (4067 1)  
4070 1

Ἀραβικός see Index IV s.v. Septimius Severus  
and Caracalla

Ἀρμενιακός see Index IV s.v. Commodus

Γερμανικός see Index IV s.v. Commodus

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Ἡλιοπολίτης 4060 97

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[(70)], [(73)], [(76)], [(86)], (89), (93), (96), 99,  
[(102)], (105), (109), (113), (116), [(120)?],  
[(126)], [(129)], [(132)], [(135)], [(141)],  
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(177), (180), (183), [(186)] 4088 [1], [24], 28,  
33, 37, 41, [50], 64

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Σεβεννύτης κάτω τόπων (4069 2)

Τετρακωμίας κάτω (toparchy) (4066 6)

Φάκονσαι metropolis of the Arabian nome [4070 8]

Φακουσιτῶν πόλις in the Arabian nome 4063 21-2  
[4064 5]

Φερνουφίτης (toparchy) [4057 4?]

Χαλκηδών 4087 119

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Ηλειρων (gen.) in the Arabian nome **4064** 3, 19

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Θαυβάθις in the Arabian nome **4067** (8), 22

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Ἰστρου **4059** 10, [12] **4089** 21, 51

Καινὴ in the Arabian nome **4067** 15

Κενῶθις **4091** 11, 12

Μερμέρθα **4091** 11

Νεσμίμις **4090** 7, 8–9

Πακέρκη **4089** 24, (53)

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Ῥις in the Arabian nome **4066** 1, 5, 22, 27

Σαδάλου **4089** 19, 46

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Σενοπῶθις **4089** 24, (53)

Σκρύ in the Memphite nome **4060** 27

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Τακαπέρθις in the Arabian nome **4066** 18

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Τασκρύ in the Memphite nome **4060** 26

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Του- in the Memphite nome? **4060** 25

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Τριμίθις **4058** 20, (24)

Ψιμπαθᾶ in the Onuphite nome **4060** 93

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## XI. RELIGION

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 βασιλικὸς τραπεζῖτης (**4056** 7)  
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 βιβλιοφύλαξ ([**4060** 63]: ὁ τῶν ἐγκτήσεων β.) **4076** 7  
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 γραφεῖον **4058** 20  
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4009 recto

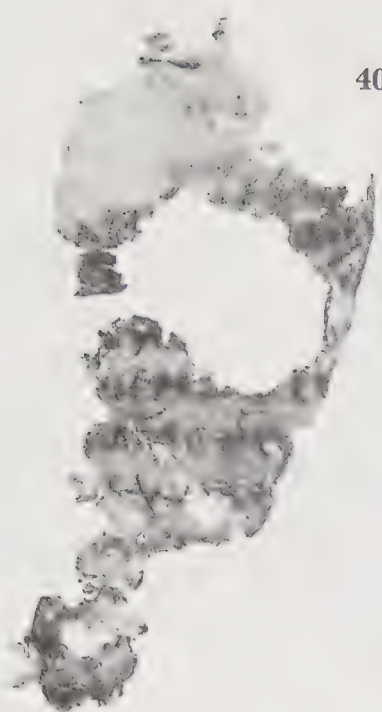
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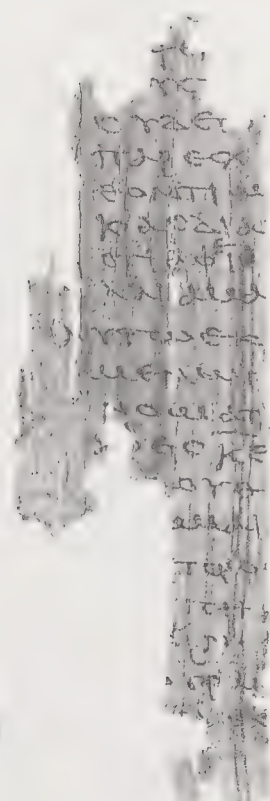
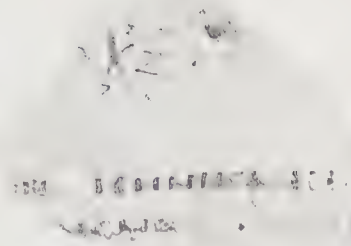




4023 hair side

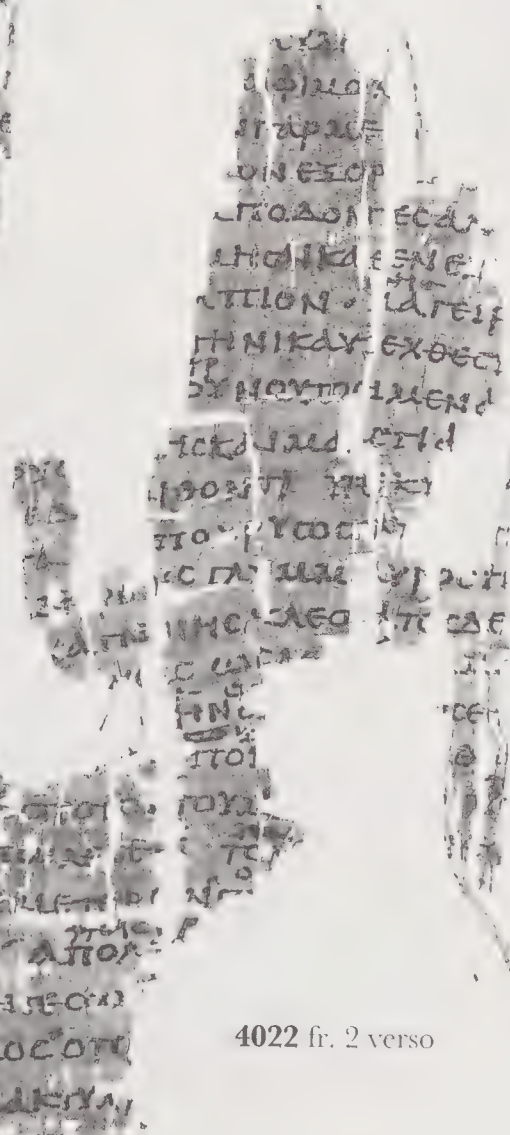
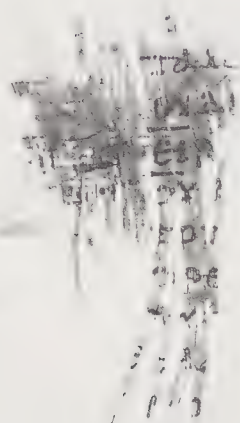


4018 recto



4009 verso

4022 fr. 1 verso



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(all reduced)

4024

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4020













fr.1

fr.3

fr.4

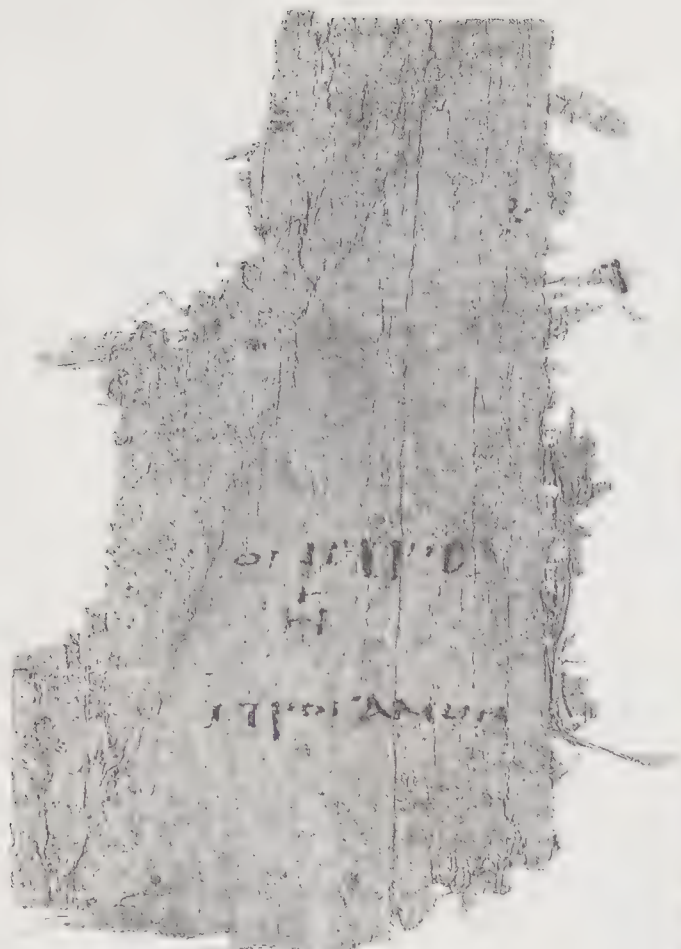
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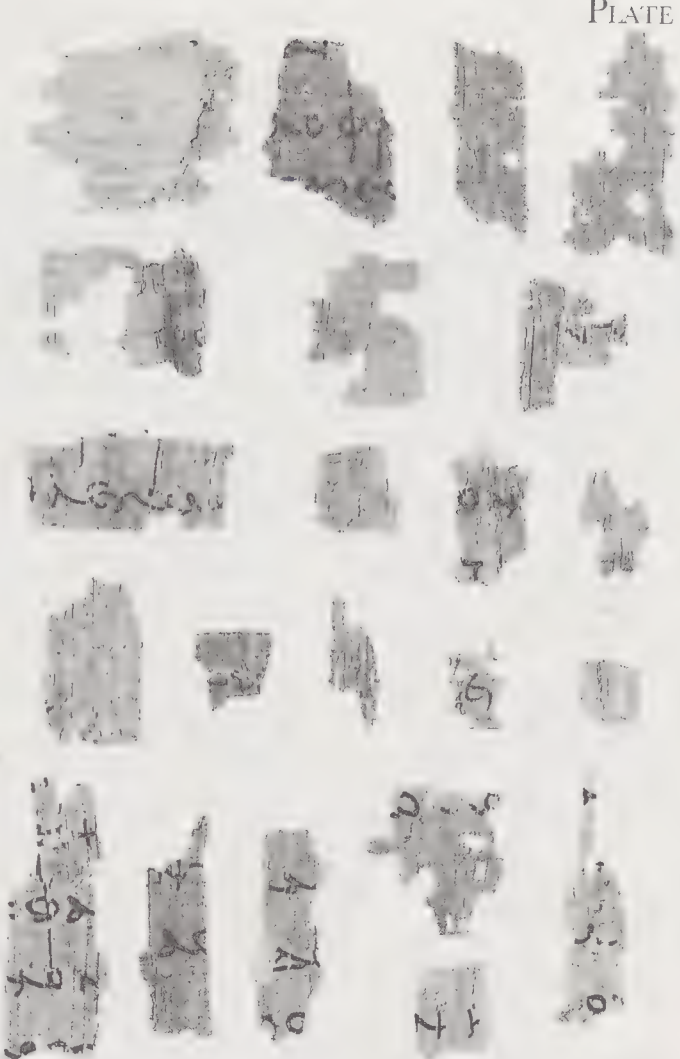
4017 (reduced)







4026



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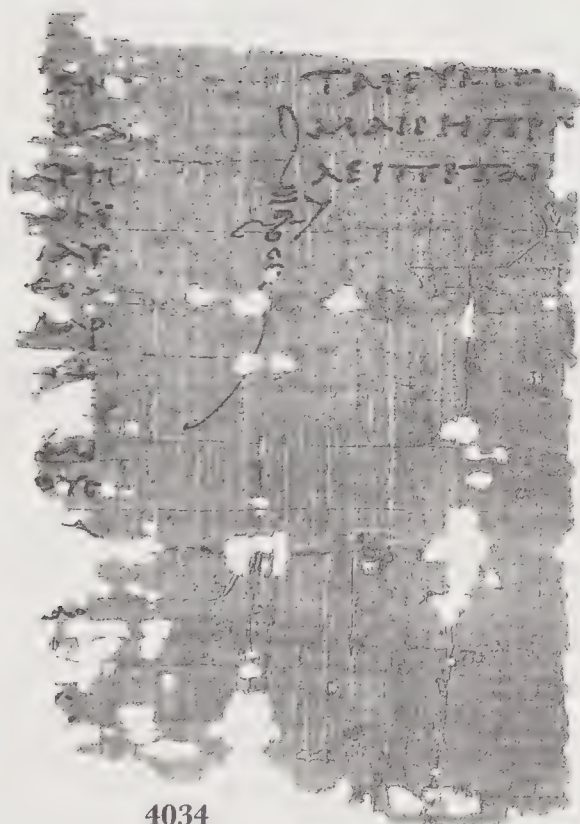
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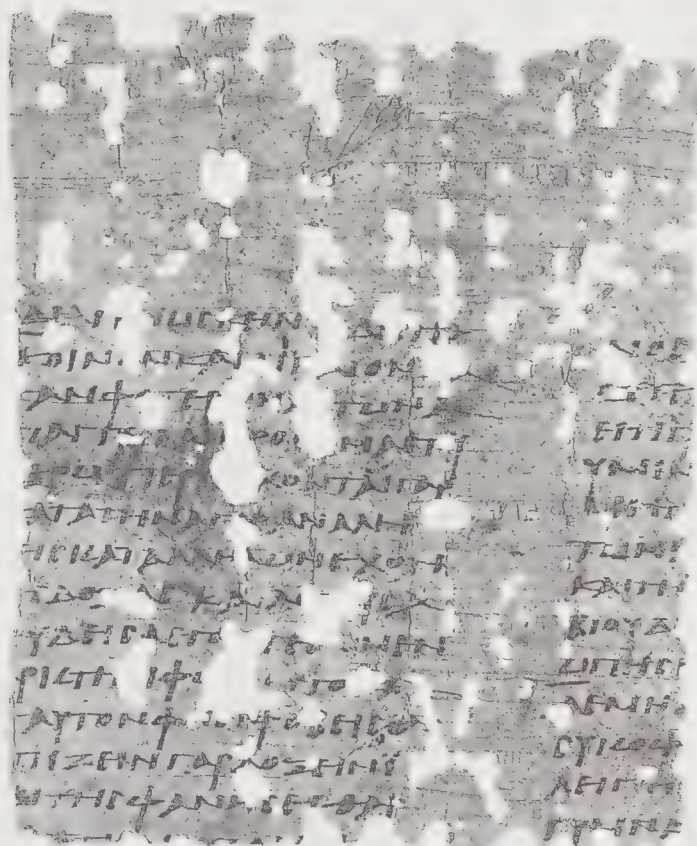
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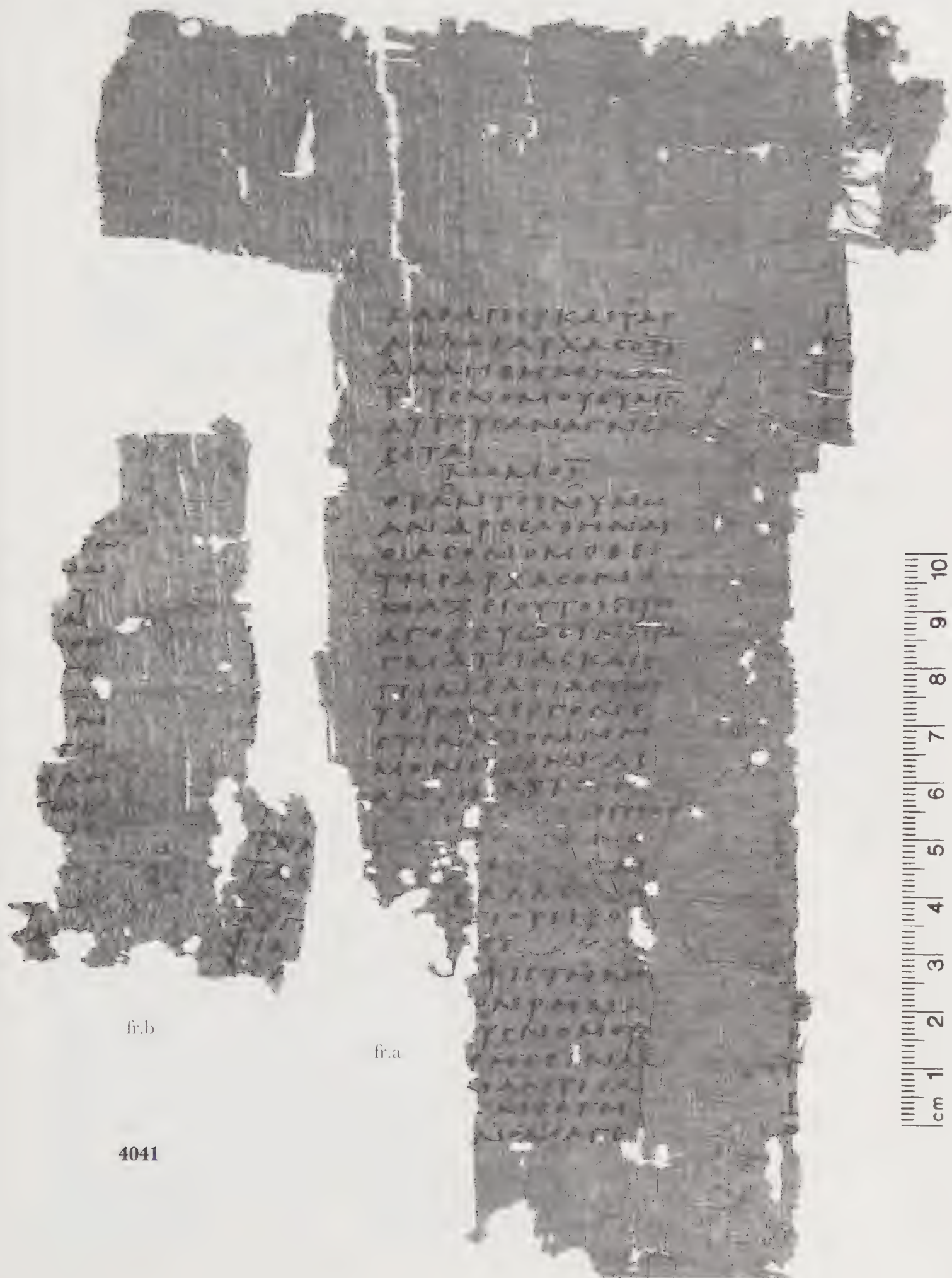


4053

















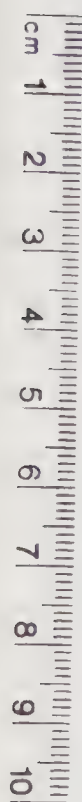


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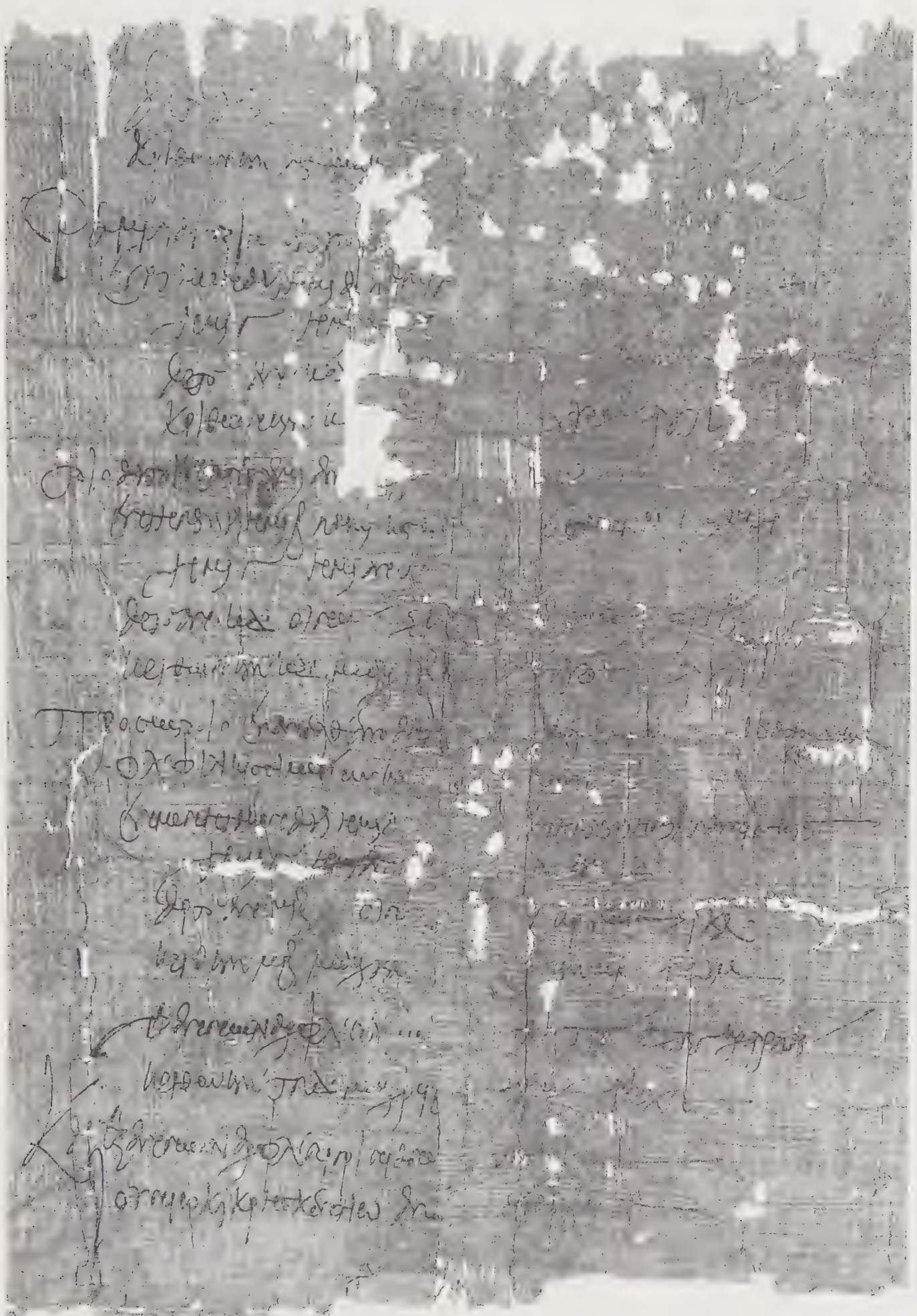






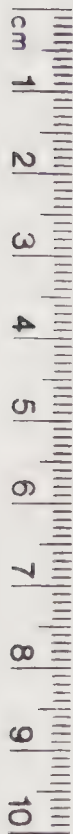












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